‘BUT IT’S JUST A JOKE!’: LATINO AUDIENCES’ PRIMED REACTIONS TO LATINO COMEDIANS AND THEIR USE OF RACE-BASED HUMOR

A Dissertation
by

AMANDA RAE MARTINEZ

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

December 2011

Major Subject: Communication

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ABSTRACT

‘But it’s Just a Joke!’: Latino Audiences’ Primed Reactions to
Latino Comedians and Their Use of Race-Based Humor.
(December 2011)
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Racism persists individually and institutionally in the U.S. and race-based comedy prevails in media, accepted by diverse audiences as jokes. Media priming and Social Identity Theory theoretically ground this two-part experimental study that examines Latino participants’ judgments of in-group (Latino) and out-group (White) alleged offenders in judicial cases after being primed with race-based stereotype comedy performed by an in-group (Latino) or out-group (White) comedian. First, participants read race-based stereotype comedy segments and evaluated them on perceptions of the comedian, humor, enjoyment, and stereotypicality. Second, participants read two criminal judicial review cases for alleged offenders and provided guilt evaluations. Importantly, a distinction was made between high and low Latino identifier participants to determine whether racial identity salience might impact responses to in-group and/or out-group members in comedy and judicial contexts.

The results reveal that the high Latino identifiers found the race-based comedy segments more stereotypical than did the low Latino identifiers. Latino participants rated the comedy higher on enjoyment when the comedian was perceived to be a Latino in-group member as opposed to a White out-group member. The high Latino identifiers rated the White alleged offender higher on guilt than the Latino alleged offender after being primed with race-based comedy.

Simply projecting in-group or out-group racial identity of comedians and alleged offenders with name manipulations in the study influenced how participants responded to the comedy material, and persisted in guiding guilt judgments on alleged offenders in the judicial reviews based on participants' Latino identity salience. A Latino comedian's position as popular joke-teller in the media overrides in-group threat, despite invoking in-group stereotypes in humor. Even with greater enjoyment expressed for Latino comedians' performing stereotypical race-based material, the tendency to react more harshly against perceived out-group members as a defense strategy to maintain positive in-group salience remained in real-world judgments on alleged offenders. Despite the claim that light-hearted comedy is meant to be laughed at and not taken seriously, jokes that disparage racial groups as homogenous, simplistic, and criminal impact subsequent responses to out-group members in a socially competitive attempt to maintain positive in-group identity, to the detriment of out-groups.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to all the stand-up comedians out there, and to anyone who has ever told or heard a joke. It is possible to make people laugh without degrading yourself or others. Life is so full of irony and hilarity, the inspiration for jokes is all around us… and should not rely on negative stereotypes.

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about in her class, and our informal conversations have significantly informed my doctoral work.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I'm the little person inside of everyone who's frustrated about something. I perform opinionated comedy. I want people to take my comedy serious and to think and laugh about what I say. I'll ask people to look around the audience and see who they laughed with during my act. I want them to realize that everyone can get along together, regardless of race. Look at individuals, not races (see Figure 1).

– Carlos Mencia

Figure 1 Photo of Carlos Mencia, host of Comedy Central's *Mind of Mencia* (Comedy Central, 2011).

This dissertation follows the style of *Human Communication Research*.

Theoretical Rationale Overview

The present study uses Social Identity Theory (SIT) as its primary theoretical rationale. Since this study is primarily concerned with Latinos, racial identification, race-based comedy, and intragroup and intergroup (inter)actions, an overview of race and ethnicity is laid out first. Then, the terms "Latino" and "Hispanic" are explained due to the unique simultaneous racial and ethnic position Latinos occupy in the U.S. Next, key racism concepts are discussed as they underlie the roots of racial and/or racist thought processes at the individual and institutional levels. More specifically, systemic racism, the White racial frame, and critical race theory are explored, and serve as the backdrop for this study's importance. Two significant ways that racism prevails are explained: colorblind racism and the "backstage" and "frontstage" racism contexts. Lastly, a discussion of SIT and intergroup dynamics ensues, followed by a brief foreshadowing of the current study's design and objectives.

Latinos/Hispanics as Heterogeneous Racial and Ethnic Groups

Before discussing the complex, broad in-group and out-group identity processes individuals undergo, it is worth noting definitions of race and ethnicity and how Latinos/Hispanics are included within these terms. As one scholar states, "race is a pigment of our imagination" (Rumbaut, 2009, p. 15) because it is a social construction that depends on contextual meanings. Omi and Winant (1994) further describe this reality: "Racial categories are not natural categories that human beings discover; on the contrary, they are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed by human action and are, therefore, preeminently social products" (p. 26). Though there is not one simple

agreed-upon definition of race, one that is widely accepted describes race as "a group of human beings socially defined on the basis of physical characteristics" (Cornell & Hartmann, 2007, p. 25). Like race, ethnicity is also socially constructed (Omi & Winant, 2010).

Ethnicity and race overlap for most people and the definitions transform as individuals' identities transform (Verkuyten, 2005). While race basically focuses on skin color, ethnicity refers to a collective group that shares ancestry, history, and various symbolic elements of culture (Card, 1999; Cornell & Hartmann, 2007). A familiar assimilation metaphor, the "melting pot," describes the process of ethnic and racial fusion to create one dominant shared culture thought to ultimately enhance social relations. The U.S. has historically favored assimilation and "has engaged in more than two centuries of effort to construct a surprisingly widespread sense of peoplehood among an ethnically and racially diverse population" (Cornell & Hartmann, 2007, p. 37). Some argue the emphasis placed on race in U.S. society impedes non-White[1] groups' ability to assimilate, making assimilation a reality only for Whites (Telles & Ortiz, 2008).

Assimilation, however, is not the only mode of integration. Acculturation and enculturation speak to processes opposite of assimilation, as the preservation of one's culture is the valued emphasis. Portes and Zhou (1993) refer to this incorporation as "segmented assimilation" where children of migrant generations follow diverse paths

[1] The terms used to refer to racial categories throughout this dissertation are capitalized for consistency. This decision was made because racial categories refer to entire groups of people in the same way that the terms "Latino," "African American," and "White" do.

towards a preservation of ethnic culture and an integration of dominant culture. Kim (2009) describes acculturation as the extent to which individuals adopt the dominant groups' cultural heritage norms and enculturation as the extent to which individuals retain the norms of their own heritage cultures. Importantly, acculturation does not necessarily infer a change of group membership, but a broadening of self-definition (Liebkind, 2001). The U.S. government has organized people with racial and ethnic categories in the census but those categories and definitions have not remained static.

For Latinos/Hispanics[2], census category definitions have changed over time. The term "Hispanic" was conceived before the term "Latino" and led to two other categories: "non-Hispanic White" and "non-Hispanic Black" (Rumbaut, 2009) as an attempt to detach race (i.e., Black, White) from ethnicity (i.e., Hispanic). Many Latino groups are multiethnic and can be coded into more than one racial category. Because "Hispanic" and "Latino" are used interchangeably and alongside the categories of "Asian," "Black," and "non-Hispanic Black," the terms describe racial and ethnic identity simultaneously (Rumbaut, 2009, p. 24). Distinguishing between race and ethnicity is not always a seamless task, and this is particularly the case with Latinos, as they "straddle the divide, being both a race, in some common understanding, and an ethnic group" (Cornell & Hartmann, 2007, p. 34).

The central point is that Latinos do not fit neatly into the White/Black racial binary in the U.S. (Navarro, 2010; Tafoya, 2010). For example, Mexicans were coded as

[2] The terms "Latino" and "Hispanic" are used interchangeably in this section of the dissertation. Since the term "Latino" is generally preferred over "Hispanic" (Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 1987), it is used throughout the remainder of the dissertation.

"White" on the census prior to 1970, and this classification implied that members of this group were not subject to racism or discrimination because "if they were perceived as White, then their entrance to jobs, housing, education, and other institutions was supposedly limited only by their talents, economic resources, networks, and availability" (Rodriguez, 2009, p. 38). Despite this formal "White" designation on the census, various Latino subgroups (Mexicans in particular) have experienced widespread social treatment as non-Whites (Davila, 2008; Rumbaut, 2009; Telles & Ortiz, 2008).

Today, the terms "Latino" and "Hispanic" refer to ethnic identity but with members from many racial categories; still, the terms lump heterogeneous populations together since most Latino groups are inherently multiethnic. The way individuals self-define complicates matters further (Rodriguez, 2009). There are 45 million Latinos in the U.S., comprising 15 percent of the U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008), mostly concentrated in California, Texas, and the Southwest region (Rumbaut, 2009). Neither "Hispanic" nor "Latino" are preferred terms for Latin American newcomers, as these groups are known to self-identify foremost by nation of origin (Rumbaut, 2009), and then further distinguish by South, Central, or Latin American regions within the nations (Arellano, 2007). Multiple generations of Hispanic Americans define themselves in similarly specific ways. For example, in American regions with large, recently migrated Mexican-origin populations, the tendency is to identify by Mexican state, county, and village when responding to the "where are you from" question (Arellano, 2007). U.S.-born Latinos respond in a myriad of ways as well, including by American state and specific region within the state, (Arellano, 2007; Gonzalez, 1997). There exists a

historical tension between one's other-imposed identity assignments versus how individuals typically see and experience themselves (Verkuyten, 2010), which supports the perpetual foreigner concept that many Latinos, American citizens or not, are subjected to in the U.S. (Lee, Wong, & Alvarez, 2009; Wu, 2002). The internalization of imposed versus self-identity results in many Latinos choosing "other" on the census survey, despite census attempts to dissuade this response (Rodriguez, 2009).

As the preceding literature demonstrates, Latinos self-identify in diverse ways that are not always in line with the way they are racially and ethnically categorized by society. At the core of these self-identification tendencies lies the fact that the acculturation (or enculturation) process culminates individually, and incessant categorizing causes minority group members to racialize their own national origins or cultural heritage (Dernersesian, 1994). Due to the complexity inherent among heterogeneous Latino subgroups, the current study depends on participants' self-reported Latino identification. Since the term "Latino" refers to ethnicity and race simultaneously for many who belong to this broad category, the current study engaged with self-identified Latino participants generally as both a racial and ethnic categorization. A distinction further deciphers the strength of Latino participants' in-group identity -- two groups of Latino participants comprise the sample in this study: Latino participants who hold their Latino identity as primary to their self-concept were coded as high racial identifiers and those who place less emphasis on their Latino identity as central to their self-concept were coded as low racial identifiers (the specific method used to determine these groupings is described in greater detail in Chapter III below). This strategy is not

widespread in communication studies focused on race and ethnicity as an important variable. Most studies simply account for racial and ethnic categorization as part of demographics without considering participants' acculturation or enculturation level, assuming racial and ethnic identities are primary for all participants.

Individuals in a race-based country like the U.S. surely recognize the categories they belong to and those they do not belong to and the broader racial undertones that guide categorization are important. Most people easily cite racist (inter)actions as they manifest in individual acts of prejudice, but the reality is that the race-based foundation of the U.S. actually prevails systemically. Since racial categorization remains foundational to society today, despite social advancements towards greater equality and a supposed (ideological) post-racial era, considering the broader social context of racism helps pinpoint the reasons racial categorization matters in the current study.

Systemic Racism, the White Racial Frame, and Critical Race Theory

Many scholars have critically assessed racism's multi-century impact on American society (Bonilla-Silva, 2010; Chou & Feagin, 2008; Cobas, Duany, & Feagin, 2009; Feagin, 2006, 2010; Feagin & Booher Feagin, 1986; Feagin & McKinney, 2003; Picca & Feagin, 2007). Feagin (2006) states, "racial oppression makes the United States very distinctive, for it is the only major Western country that was explicitly founded on racial oppression" (p. 2). In fact, scholars argue that racism is so central to American society one would be hard pressed to live life completely unaffected by it (Benedict, 1999; Tatum, 2010).

Dominant ways of thinking exert implicit power over minority group members in the form of racial frames (Rex, 1999). More specifically, "the White racial frame is an organized set of racialized ideas, emotions, and inclinations that is closely linked to habitual discriminatory actions, all of which are expressed in the routine operation of this society's racist institutions" (Feagin, 2006, p. 272). Feagin (2010) affirms this hegemonic power by further describing the dominant White racial frame in American society as "active and directing; it is learned at parent's knee, in school, and from the media; and, once learned, it both guides and rationalizes discriminatory behavior" (p. 16). Older forms of White racial framing were more explicit in earlier eras of American history, but today they permeate from more subtle angles often dependent upon context. Traditional White racial frames are easily identified in everyday life and in multiple forms including racial stereotypes, metaphors, images, emotions, interpretive narratives, and inclinations to discriminate against non-dominant (non-White) groups (Feagin, 2010). For example, the media help normalize White racial framing by perpetuating narrow images of Latinos as criminals, a common stereotype for this particular group. The overarching point is that racism develops and persists interactively on a broad scale and is not simply a matter of individual beliefs (Card, 1999; Garcia, 1999). Indeed repetition is so fundamental to the survival of such an implicit ideology of cognitive and emotional framing it often goes unnoticed by those who benefit from it.

Critical race theorists highlight the privileged position that White Americans occupy (Rothenberg, 2004; Wildman & Davis, 1995). Wildman and Davis (1995) argue that Whites don't look at the world through a race filter, despite the fact that they are a race

because "the power to ignore race, when White is the race, is a privilege, a societal advantage" (p. 577). The core of systemic, institutionalized racism essentially questions who authentically, rightfully belongs and who does not (Verkuyten, 2005). The flaw with the individual-based mentality towards racism is that the "bigot-causes-discrimination view… does not examine the deep structural foundation in which acts of discrimination are always embedded" (Feagin, 2010, p. 5).

Despite the reality of individually-perpetuated racism, much racial oppression remains systemic and "usually takes the form of racial discrimination – that is, differential treatment by Whites of Black Americans and other people of color – in an array of major institutional areas, including employment, housing, education, health care, recreation, politics, policing, and public accommodations" (Feagin, 2006, p. 195). Among Latino groups, individuals of Mexican descent have undergone the longest, most sustained history of racial oppression particularly in political and economic exploitation (Cobas et al., 2009). Rumbaut (2009) cites historical examples:

> It was understood that cheap, unskilled Mexican labor could be recruited when needed, as happened during World War I and the 1920s, and again during the Bracero Program beginning in the 1940s; and that those laborers could be deported en masse when they were no longer needed, as happened during the 1930s and again during "Operation Wetback" in the mid-1950s (p. 21).

Wildman and Davis (1995) suggest that the history of race relations in the U.S. has an effect on how racial group members think, which then might influence interactions with similar or dissimilar others: "It is important to realize that even when we [people of color] are not privileged by a particular power system, we [people of color] are products of the culture that instills its attitudes in us" (p. 578). Among the most striking

implications of systemic racism is that people of color have subconsciously incorporated a White racial frame mindset to varying degrees into their own lives as they navigate the dominant structures (Feagin, 2010). Recognizing the unique intersections, for example, of race and gender at which we all reside "can help reveal privilege, especially when we remember that the intersection is multi-dimensional, including intersections of both subordination and privilege" (Wildman & Davis, 1995, p. 578).

These deeply rooted foundations are the first layer of how individuals interpret and negotiate their self identity in relation to others. However, because American society is now in a politically correct (and some would say post-racial) climate, individuals rarely admit their race-based biases openly. Due to the light-hearted tone most entertainment media take on, comedy programming in particular, many would argue that dominant racial framing is relegated to more serious social contexts where real, immediate potential for discrimination exists. The reality is that race has played a pivotal role in racial group relations throughout American history and arguably continues to underlie many institutions within society in the present day, including the mass media. Therefore, systemic racism and the pervasive White racial frame support the prominence of racial humor that targets minority, marginalized groups. Given that not even racial minority group members are immune to internalizing the White racial frame, the potential is great for racist ideologies to live on in a variety of forms. This study is particularly concerned with race-based comedy targeting various racial groups when performed in the mass media by racially diverse comedians. Because we live in an era where most overt racist attitudes are unacceptable, comedians and other joke-tellers have an array of strategies to

employ that disguise racism and allow for it to be accepted as not seriously racist; after all, even the most critical audience members should be able to "just take a joke" without becoming offended, even if the joke is a racist one.

Colorblind and "Backstage"/"Frontstage" Racism

The individual strategies used to demonstrate non-racist and implicitly racist attitudes take on many forms. Perhaps one of the most popular claims today is colorblindness. Scholars argue that most White Americans today assert that they are racially colorblind because they see people as individuals, not by race, as we are in a "post-racial society," where people are "no longer racist" (Bonilla-Silva, 2010; Feagin, 2010). This powerful racial ideology helps maintain systemic privilege of dominant groups without appearing racist. Bonilla-Silva (2010) states that at the heart of colorblindness "lies a myth: the idea that race has all but disappeared as a factor shaping the life chances of all Americans," which encourages "a racial ideology, a loosely organized set of ideas, phrases, and stories that help Whites justify contemporary White supremacy; they are the collective representations Whites have developed to explain, and ultimately justify, contemporary racial inequality" (p. 262). This counter-framing strategy places the burden on minorities because it implies minorities are personally flawed if they cannot succeed in a colorblind society that is no longer concerned with race as a basis for judgment. Colorblind racism usually takes shape subconsciously to safeguard against appearing racist because it is socially frowned upon to be overtly racist. The supposedly light-hearted context of race-based comedy in the media is of particular concern in the current study, as comedians are afforded the flexibility to cite

colorblindness as their self-proclaimed transcendent stance towards real potentially harmful racism perpetuation, despite their widespread use of race-based stereotypes to elicit laughter from audiences. Overt racism still occurs and context is influential on the frequency and nature of racist acts.

Picca and Feagin (2007) argue that often stereotypical race-based comedy is reserved for the smaller scale, more intimate "backstage" context with an exclusively in-group audience. One example of the "backstage" is when a White jokester tells race-based jokes about non-White racial groups to an all White audience. In the "backstage," performers enjoy the freedom to incite racist jokes without fear of out-group members' potential retaliation, due to their absence. Objection to negative generalizations about entire groups in a safe "backstage" setting is typically considered anti-social because the "backstage" is couched in a "just joking" guise. Even the most racist demonstrations are laughable because they are jokes; nothing is off limits in the "backstage" setting. The "backstage" setting means certain social spaces are White spaces, exempt from "frontstage" expectations about political correctness on racial matters (Picca & Feagin, 2007). Racist comments are normalized and racial stereotypes are taught this way, though such racist comments would likely not be made in the company of people of color (Awkward, 2009). Race-based joking represents a unique "backstage" performance platform because the interactive nature of joke-telling serves several social functions including uniting a group and showing how tight knit they are to allow otherwise taboo racist joking.

The “frontstage” is designed for face-saving insofar as a White person, for example, strives to appear non-racist, often relying on colorblind statements and being extra polite to people of color in other social settings. Since Whites are aware of the politically correct, transitional "colorblind" era of racism American society has entered in recent years, there may still be an awareness and sensitivity towards the historical, social meanings that racial categories carry with them. Though Whites may rely upon maintaining an external perception of colorblindness, being White may not be a primary identity that guides (inter)actions the way it often is for racial minority group members; rather, race is an option for Whites, with less power in certain contexts. For example, in a race-based joking situation, perhaps a White person will be more harshly criticized for perpetuating racial stereotypes more so than a racial minority would be due, in part, to the perception that Whites occupy a privileged position, experience less racism historically, and consequently, are not permitted flexibility in employing race-based material. While colorblind racism promotes a denial of the ability to even see race, this does not mean to imply that Whites fail to employ race-based perceptions in their (inter)actions; the strategies have just become more varied, conscious and subconscious. In the “frontstage,” Whites are often hyper aware of their White skin as a marker for a prejudiced person, so they avoid racism by monitoring the way they speak and act but this is not necessarily the case in the “backstage” (Picca & Feagin, 2007).

At times the “frontstage” and “backstage” boundaries might be blurred, as Mexican American scholar Casares (2010) states: “Because of my appearance, people often say things in front of me they wouldn’t say if they knew my real ethnicity” (p. 404). The safe

zone of the "backstage" can be threatened when a perceived in-group member, such as a light-skinned Latino who is actually an out-group member, enters the "backstage." Perceptions of racial in-group membership certainly remain part of a joke-tellers' decision making process of whether to proceed with race-based jokes, which speaks volumes about the relevance of racial categorization in guiding actions with others.

In this dissertation, colorblind racism and the "backstage" and "frontstage" performance contexts provide theoretical approaches to make sense of race-based comedy performances in the mass media when performed by both a dominant group member (White comedian) and a racial minority group member (Latino comedian). Since racist attitudes exist systemically and individually to varying extents, and are intricately embedded in the dominant White racial frame, the unique situation of comedy implies that comedians can declare colorblindness personally, yet still poke fun at racial groups without fear of retaliation as long as they are "just joking." In fact, a clear example of the preceding argument stands out in the quote on the first page of this dissertation by popular Latino comedian, Carlos Mencia, who argues that people should be able to laugh together and see individuals, not races; this is interesting due to the fact that Mencia routinely invokes explicit, simplistic race-based stereotypes that homogenize diverse groups in his comedy performances. Comedians in the mass media serve as an interesting exception to the "frontstage" and "backstage" overall rules, as they reach mass audiences who more than likely do not compose an exclusive in-group, despite being self-selected. Therefore, audience members' perceptions of comedians and their personal and social identities, in addition to the nature of their race-based comedy

material, dictate how well race-based jokesters will be received. Now, more specific in-group and out-group theoretical underpinnings are in order to further describe the complexity identity adds to the intersection of race-based material in comedy performances.

Social Identity Theory and Intergroup Interactions

The SIT provides the theoretical guide to analyze how one's racial identity might influence perceptions of racially-motivated humor, and the comedians who perform this type of comedy, as well as subsequent real-world intergroup judgments. The SIT's (Tajfel 1981) main premise centers on uncertainty reduction motivation which posits that, despite some uncertainty in one's life being exciting, uncertainty related to one's self-concept may have adverse effects. Social identity is the part of an individual's self-concept derived from membership in a social group, or multiple groups, with value and emotional significance attached to those memberships (Tajfel, 1981). Though the negotiation process individuals undergo to determine their membership in a given in-group manifests in various ways, with different in-group characteristics and behaviors emphasized, in-group status generally includes perceived benefits such as security, protection, and a sense of belonging (Brislin, 1986).

As a basis for defining in-groups, individual group members engage in constant comparison with other groups to maintain positive in-group social identities (Tajfel, 1978; Turner, 1978a, 1978b). This process of accentuating difference to promote in-group belonging may become "more pronounced when the categories or groups concerned are relevant or important to the perceiver" (Abrams & Hogg, 1990, p. 3).

These comparative notions individuals construct of the groups they identify with contribute to important aspects of their self-definition and social identity (Tajfel & Forgas, 1981; Worchel, Iuzzini, Coutant, & Ivaldi, 2000). Groups often see more heterogeneity within the in-group and more homogeneity in out-groups (Anderson, 2010). More specifically, "a given categorization is likely to form or become salient to the extent that differences *within* categories are less than differences *between* those categories in the comparative context" (Oakes et al., 1994, p. 177). Based on the preceding perception, "the fundamental categorization of an individual as a member of one's own group or not in itself can give rise to differential affect and evaluation," which may occur spontaneously and without conscious awareness, or even category-specific (i.e., stereotypic) cognitive representations (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000, p. 113). Clearly, then, the in-grouping process can result in bias in subsequent intergroup interactions, particularly when an out-group appears to pose a threat to the in-group (Johnston & Hewstone, 1990).

Acquiring and maintaining a positive social identity can be costly since an improved group position and the enhanced affiliation of its members is associated with discrimination on out-groups to favor the in-group as a means to ultimately increase self-esteem (Gudykunst, 1986; Hewstone & Giles, 1986; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986; Worchel et al., 2000). Scholars have pointed out that behavioral attributions are influenced by the current state of relations between groups, which have potential to influence future intergroup relations (Hewstone & Jaspars, 1982). Social and historic time frame could be so powerful that, "depending upon which downtrodden and

powerless people are convenient in various parts of the world" (Brislin, 1986, p. 77), drawing distinctions between groups directly impacts which groups are considered worthwhile for comparison (Anderson, 2010). Additionally, "social categorization of people in terms of peripheral dimensions such as race, religion, education and sex produces an accentuation of intercategory differences and intracategory similarities on focal (stereotypic) dimensions" (Hogg & Abrams, 1990, p. 29).

Social identity seems an individualized, often implicit process of negotiating salient in-group identities with several identity concerns acting simultaneously, some prioritized over others depending on context (Chen, 2009; Ros, Huici, & Gomez, 2000). As Worchel et al. (2000) suggest it is possible that personal identity, which focuses on individual uniqueness, is a more potent influence over one's identity management and in-group status. Personal and social identities are best conceptualized on a continuum with individuating characteristics at the personal extreme and social categorical characteristics at the social extreme (Abrams & Hogg, 1990). Though the SIT focuses on social identity as holding much power over how individuals create a sense of belonging with others, personal identity could trump social identity. For example, many Latino cultures tend to be collectivist but many Latinos are bicultural, identifying with the racial or ethnic in-group collectively while simultaneously valuing individuality (Molinary, 2007). In the preceding example, collectivist *social* Latino identity, and individualist *personal* identity are weighed simultaneously in a given context. Similarly, when a collective in-group is threatened by a distinct out-group, Latino social identity might be

expected to overpower individual personal identity as a defensive strategy to preserve positive collective social identity.

Of course, when minority groups engage in social comparison with dominant groups, the sort of ethnocentric in-group cultural orientation does not always persist. The process is not always clear cut, however, as "individuals may cease to utilize the high status [or dominant] group as a relevant comparison group or they may leave their own group" (Turner & Brown, 1978, p. 205). The preceding statement calls upon a sense of self-distancing from certain identities; perhaps other salient identities assume priority in one's self-concept definition. Both relationships with in-group members and simple associations with general in-groups may make for distinctions in gleaning an understanding of how intergroup behavior unfolds (Worchel et al., 2000).

The context of race-based humor performed by racial in-group members in the mass media as a social "group performance" or a "social dilemma" due to perceived beneficial or detrimental effects (or some combination of both) for in-group members is not well understood. For this reason, this study distinguishes between high and low racial in-group identification levels; in other words, the degree to which a Latino audience member is more collective (high racial in-group identification) or more individualistic in regards to personal identity (somewhat less dependent on racial identity) may impact racial humor perceptions. The complexities underlying social and personal identity formation invoke the reality that "incidental experiences that elicit favorable and inclusive associations and arouse positive affect may more effectively initiate – that is, prime – the types of thoughts, feelings, and actions that can begin to alter intergroup

boundaries, facilitate the development of a common in-group identity, and begin to improve intergroup relations" (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000, p. 104).

There are many strategies that in-groups utilize towards maintaining positive social identity, including social mobility, social competition, and social creativity (Reid & Anderson, 2010; Turner & Brown, 1978). These strategies arise when "people have beliefs about status relations, and those beliefs direct them toward one of the three strategies for pursuing a positive social identity" (Reid & Anderson, 2010, p. 95). A positive social identity depends largely upon the relative social standing of one group compared to others, which rationalizes why group members struggle to create and sustain positive overall in-group identity.

The social mobility strategy describes the motivational perception that a group member might move upward or downward within a social hierarchy should they lack in-group identification (Reid & Anderson, 2010). In other words, if a Latino in-group member also holds a high socioeconomic class identity, in the case that this individual feels a sense of out-grouping or distancing from the Latino in-group, the socioeconomic class in-group might take precedence. In the social competition strategy, in-group members view a social hierarchy as reversible with permeable boundaries (Reid & Anderson, 2010). Latino in-group members, when faced with a threat posed by an out-group member, might engage social competition by perceiving an out-group less positively than the in-group, resulting in an in-group enhancement. Lastly, social creativity is a strategy that in-group members use to express group solidarity without necessarily engaging in direct out-group comparison (Reid & Anderson, 2010). In light

of negative racial in-group stereotypes, in-group members could counter with widespread messages of in-group racial and cultural pride through actions that debunk the negativity and simultaneously promote in-group positivity. Any number of the aforementioned strategies may be employed depending on a variety of competing factors' culmination.

Overall, the SIT considers the natural tendency to seek inclusion through group membership. In the context of racial humor, social cues may be provided through messages that contribute to the individual's self construction and identification, and subsequent reactions to race-based comedy. As Worchel et al. (2000) suggest, "An individual's behavior is guided by several identity concerns *acting simultaneously*" (p. 17). Since many comedians of all racial backgrounds invoke racial stereotypes as a way to play upon shared knowledge, it is crucial to better understand social stereotypes as functional in competition and power relationships between groups (Tajfel & Forgas, 1981). With race-based humor disseminated to mass audiences, considering Latino in-group audience members' perceptions of comedians as in-group or out-group members is key, as this factor may influence perspectives on racial comedy generally, and perhaps play a role in in-group identity salience and positive in-group maintenance. Racial humor in general and specific in-group (Latino) racial humor arguably resides in a complicated media space for in-group (Latino) audience members.

The extent to which Latinos perceive racial humor told by popular (Latino in-group and White out-group) comedians as acceptable and funny, and whether the comedian's race matters in judging funniness, among other variables, is a central objective to this

study. The SIT would presuppose that in-group members are more entitled to voice their criticisms about their own in-group than are outsiders, though this is certainly not an automatic entitlement; rather, it is often contingent upon the tendency for in-group members to believe that internal critics truly have the in-group's best interests at heart when compared to external critics (Sutton, Douglas, Elder, & Tarrant, 2008). Racial or ethnic in-group comedians often exploit this unique intersection in media comedy; after all, "without pressure of being deemed racist, what outcomes could be expected from exposure to images of racial/ethnic minorities in the media *by* racial/ethnic minorities?" (Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, & Kopacz, 2008, p. 20). As previously noted, this study focuses first on Latinos' primed responses to race-based comedy material that targets Latinos as well as other racial groups told by either a racial in-group member (Latino comedian) or a racial out-group member (White comedian). The objective is to determine whether perceived racial group membership matters in how participants respond to comedians as well as alleged offenders in judicial review scenarios.

Also within the context of the SIT, intergroup (inter)actions are examined in the second portion of this study. To preview the current study's design, after participants are primed with race-based comedy material from the mass media by in-group or out-group comedians, participants will evaluate two judicial review scenarios with in-group (Latino) or out-group (White) alleged offenders ostensibly from another university who are being accused of 1) drug dealing and 2) assault. The judicial review scenarios invoke criminality stereotypes, which are common in media portrayals of Latinos and will be discussed in the next chapter. The intention of the judicial review portion of the study is

to evaluate whether there are differences in guilt judgments based upon the exact same set of case facts when the alleged offender is a perceived in-group member (Latino) or out-group member (White); more specifically, the goal is to gauge whether the stereotypical media primes in the comedy persist in the short-term to influence supposedly real-world judgments of alleged offenders under judicial review.

Now, I turn to the literature review. First, a general discussion of stereotypes and social perceptions ensues, followed by a more specific layout of racial and ethnic stereotypes relevant to Latinos, as well as the racial and ethnic media landscape in terms of numerical representations. Then, I elaborate upon stand-up comedy, comedian objectives, and audience determinations of sense of humor, followed by the final theoretical underpinning of this study, media priming. The study's design precedes the three hypotheses posited at the end.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Media Portrayals, Comedy, and Priming

Stereotypes and Social Perceptions

The act of stereotyping has intrigued social psychologists for more than seventy years, as stereotypes appeal to an unwarranted homogenization of diverse individuals within groups (Oakes et al., 1994). Put simply, stereotypes place individuals in social categories with simplistic characteristics. Social stereotypes are schematic cultural constructs, shared beliefs and images of social groups that compose "a complex network of ideas, communicated through verbal and visual imagery, through metaphors, irony, jokes and symbolic inversions" (Condor, 1990, p. 248). The main issue with stereotyping is the embedded assumption that simplistic definitions are applicable to any member of the category and since such definitions are usually framed negatively, they ultimately substitute for individuality and diversity (Hewstone & Giles, 1986). Despite the kernel of truth debate that still ensues among scholars trying to determine whether stereotypes hold any real meaning, early studies concluded that "the factual basis of stereotypes was negligible, if not non-existent" (Oakes et al., 1994, p. 21). However, stereotyping has also been rationalized as "a 'necessary evil' arising from the fact that the ideal situation – in which all perception is based on individualized case formation – is ruled out by the inherent limitations of human mental functioning" (Oakes et al., 1994, p. 7).

Tajfel (1981) pinpointed five functions of social stereotypes including a cognitive function, a motivational function, a large-scale social events' explanatory function, a function justifying collective action, and lastly, a function towards the creation and maintenance of positive intergroup distinctiveness. In light of evidence supporting the social, intergroup functionality of stereotypes, the simplification of heterogeneous groups for sense-making remains a complex in-group and out-group negotiation. Since well-known stereotypes enable individuals to classify others, individuals rely on this predictive function and, consequently, expect to see evidence of stereotypes confirmed. Even in the absence of such evidence, people subconsciously pay attention to stereotype-confirming information and may not notice other behaviors that might derail the stereotype and weaken its meaning. Logically, the "disconfirmation of stereotypes is cognitively uncomfortable for the perceiver" (Oakes et al., 1994, p. 19). On the receiving end of stereotypes, individuals negotiate their responses based on their identities and those of the stereotyper to determine intent.

When individual group members notice when they are subject to stereotyping, reactions vary based on some internal struggle with other and self-imposed personal and social identities. One consideration is the stereotyper's motive (Hornsey, 2008; Turner, 1978b). Despite the quick sense-making function stereotypes serve, when individuals are stereotyped, they judge the stereotyper as prejudiced, which more reasonably justifies the stereotyped individual's anger. As Hornsey (2008) describes, "sometimes people criticize groups out of spite or revenge, or they do it to perpetuate prejudices, stir up hatred, score points, or legitimize the disproportionate power and status of their own

group (a motivated stereotype)" (p. 319). Conversely, if the stereotyper is a perceived in-group member, fellow in-group members are more likely to see the stereotype as ultimately having the in-group's best interests in mind. If this assumption is called into question, an in-group stereotyper arouses defensiveness from fellow in-group members. These exceptions to the rule complicate stereotyping because depending on one's perceived in-group or out-group membership some individuals have more flexibility in stereotype use than others. Stereotypes can act as primes that stay in audience members' minds in the short-term, which is discussed later in this chapter. Now that the short-cut function of stereotypes has been articulated, I present an overview of racial and ethnic stereotypes pertaining to Latinos throughout American media popular culture, situated in specific historic and social time frames.

Racial and Ethnic Stereotypes

Considering research at the intersections of media and race, people of color have acted in limited roles and "when people of color have appeared, they have usually done so in ways that did not challenge the dominant White culture" (Jacobs Henderson & Baldasty, 2003, p. 98). Surveying media portrayals in recent decades shows that Latino representations have remained relatively narrow and unchanged. Since the early 1900s, popular literature based on historical events and social perceptions dominated and set the stage for pervasive stereotypes of Mexicans in the Southwest as well as other Latino groups. Prominent examples include *The Time of the Gringo* by Elliot Arnold, and *Adventures in the Santa Fe Trade* by James Josiah Webb (Wilson, Gutierrez, & Chao, 2003). The driving factor that contributed to this second class status of Latinos in society

and the media was Whites' superior attitude over Mexicans, since much of the Mexican population was either Native American or *mestizo*[3] (Cobas et al., 2009). Despite many people migrating to the U.S. from Latin American countries throughout history, there has been little difference in the treatment of Spanish-speaking people by the American media, as "Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Guatemalans, and others are generally accorded the same stereotypical status as Mexicans, and no attention is paid to the cultural, social, and historical differences between Spanish-speaking people" (Wilson et al., 2003, p. 69). Indeed Latinos continue to be treated as a homogenous group in mainstream media.

In the 1950s, a few Latino stars emerged on the big screen, but viewing audiences were largely unaware that these stars were Latinos, as they were often told to "whiten" their appearance to secure acting work (Pieraccini & Alligood, 2005). As a result, people of color have often played familiar stereotypes, peripheral or side-kick characters, or individuals assimilated into White culture with their racial and ethnic identities muted. Unfortunately, the media world operates such that people of color hardly resist or outright reject their own in-group racial stereotypes and some feel pressured to perform them to advance their careers (Chou & Feagin, 2008; Park, Gabbadon, & Chernin, 2006).

Importantly, however, characters on both *I Love Lucy* and *Zorro* secured recurring roles during this time, which guaranteed at least two Latino images on prime time in the 1950s (Pieraccini & Alligood, 2005). Through the 1960s, the frequency of Hollywood movies featuring Latinos dropped drastically and "those that were made reverted to old

[3] The Spanish word *mestizo* literally means *mixed*, and refers to Mexican-origin people whose ancestral past includes a mixture of Spanish and Native American blood lineage.

stereotypes, reintroducing the 'greaser' as an urban gang member" (Wilson et al., 2003, p. 93); Puerto Ricans were singled out for updated 'greaser' portrayals in two 1961 films, *West Side Story* and *The Young Savages,* with emphasis on gang violence. The preceding narrow depictions progressed into the 1970s. Some movies debuted featuring Latinos in comedic scenarios not couched in the typical threatening criminal roles, such as *Cheech and Chong*. Though Latinos entering comedy is a divergence from their typical typecasting, the comedy portrayals received criticism for glorifying drug use and alternative lifestyles.

The early 1980s showed somewhat of a shift, with movies produced and directed by Latinos, such as *Seguin* in 1981 and *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez* in 1982 (Wilson et al., 2003). Hollywood offerings did little to portray Latinos as part of the U.S. mainstream during the first half of the 1980s, other than in minor roles. Generally, however, the late 1980s and early 1990s largely portrayed Latinos in peripheral roles as street gangsters or drug traffickers, such as in *Colors* in 1988, *Tequila Sunrise* in 1989, and *Carlito's Way* in 1993. Better images surfaced when seasoned Latino actors Jimmy Smits and Edward James Olmos were featured in *Mi Familia* in 1995; other positive crossover appeal was apparent in *La Bamba*, and the film biography of Tejana singer Selena in 1997 (Pieraccini & Alligood, 2005). Some high-profile Latino personalities were also evident in prime time, but percentages remained low at a mere two percent (Pieraccini & Alligood, 2005). Unfortunately, narrow Latino criminal stereotypes have prevailed in recent years, "the 2002 film *Empire* featured a Latino drug king and revisited Puerto Rican stereotypes, evidence that change in Hollywood comes slowly"

(Wilson et al., 2003, p. 94). However, *The George Lopez Show*'s audience share increased in the 2003 season, perhaps due to the emphasis on universal family themes but with the presence of Latino-based (Cuban and Mexican) culture through dialogue and situations (Pieraccini & Alligood, 2005). Now that specific examples of Latino stereotypes in various media forms have been cited, the broader stereotype themes and their implications related to real-world contexts in the modern day warrant attention.

Today Latinos comprise the largest ethnic minority group in the U.S. (around 15%, right?), and the number of U.S.-born Latinos now surpasses the number of immigrant Latinos (O'Brien, 2009). Latinos comprise only two to six percent of prime-time television characters, and a mere one percent of main characters in top movies (Mastro, 2009). Just because Latinos are steadily increasing in the real-world population, and their media representations are also increasing does not mean that the quality of those representations is improving (Valdivia, 2010). Similar to African Americans, Latinos are confined to sitcoms and crime dramas, stereotypically typecast as younger, lower in job authority, lazier, less articulate, less intelligent, more seductively dressed, and four times more likely to play domestic workers than other racial or ethnic characters (Mastro, 2009; Valdivia, 2010). Latinos are more often depicted as crime perpetuators rather than victims. Audiences might easily believe Latinos are the most hot-tempered characters on prime time programming and responsible for much of the national crime due to such pervasive media portrayals (Mastro, 2009).

Other well-documented Latino stereotypes include the Latin lover, the bandido/cholo, and the harlot or spitfire, which position Latinos as extremes: comical,

subservient, criminal, and hypersexual (Beltran, 2009; Davis, 2000; Pieraccini & Alligood, 2005). Racial politics in the U.S. and abroad have been hotly contested throughout the course of many decades. Though the Latin lover stereotype has shifted towards more portrayals of Latino/a actors and actresses in American media, the first dark, Latin lover icon was actually an Italian, Rudolph Valentino (Leider, 2003). Despite Valentino's European heritage, he was coded as "the ultimate tall, dark, and handsome stranger" to American audiences in his hot-blooded, irresistible, dominant male roles (Leider, 2003, p. 159). An apparent shift of this stereotype from Italians to Latinos from Mexico, Central, and South America occurred and represents a clear example of the complicated racialization process that Latinos endure, despite composing a diverse complexity of multiethnic, multiracial subgroups.

Though some may see the colorful, tropical lover stereotype as a markedly more positive spin on mediated Latino depictions, these supposedly positive attributes actually displace Latinos within the national reality and exacerbate the perpetually foreign narrative (Valdivia, 2010), another narrow stereotype. Latinos' media depictions as all illegal immigrants is marginalizing, negating the fact that many Latinos have resided in the U.S. for generations and did not actually emigrate from foreign countries. Santa Ana (2002) highlights metaphors used to construct and perpetuate negative Latino immigrant stereotypes showing how the news media report about Latino issues by equating immigrants (illegal or legal, brown-skinned in particular) to animals. At least throughout the twentieth century, Latinos were portrayed in the White-controlled U.S. media as unwanted and disreputable illegal aliens. As Santa Ana (2002) argues, the image of a

"brown tide rising" characterizes much of the media's discourse on migration from Latin America, particularly from Mexico. Moreover, Chavez (2001) has shown Mexican immigrants are typically considered an external threat and an internal enemy of the U.S., which epitomizes a marginalized, undesirable "other" status.

Popular representations of Latinos continue to emphasize their lower class status, dark skin, foreign language preference, among other culture specifics (Beltran, 2009). As Casares (2010) states, "the word Mexican has come to mean dirty, shiftless, drunken, lustful, criminal" in places distanced from the U.S.-Mexico border (p. 404). Even today, Latinos (especially undocumented immigrants) are portrayed in a White racist framing based on nineteenth-century Social Darwinism, which helps justify "illegal aliens" (or "wetbacks") being treated as subpar humans, fueling attitudes this group should be denied basic human rights (Chavez, 2001). Similar marginalizing treatment is evident in light of more recent national events. For example, post-9/11 security efforts to close the United States' borders have made Middle Eastern-looking and other dark-skinned persons, including Latinos, social targets (Valdivia, 2010).

Clearly, Latinos in the media are often marginalized and it is not surprising that many Latino audience members frequent Spanish-language networks, like Univision, since many Latino viewers are bilingual, bicultural, and tend to acculturate rather than assimilate (Greenberg, Burgoon, Burgoon, & Korzenny, 1983; Pieraccini & Alligood, 2005). However, Latinos' experience with Spanish-language media is imperfect due to population heterogeneity (Rojas, 2004). Mastro (2009) attributes the diverse nature of Latino groups to acculturation levels, which account for diverse gratifications. For

example, media can be socializing agents to American culture or reinforcements of native cultures. Given the stereotypical portrayals of Latinos, "perhaps they [Mexican Americans] are happy just to see *any* Mexican faces in a population of television characters largely devoid of such faces," as it is better than seeing none at all (Greenberg et al., 1983, p. 200). Due in part to these narrow media representations, for Latino "media consumers high in racial/in-group identification, exposure to stereotypical characterizations of out-group races/ethnicities is likely to provoke advantageous evaluations of in-group members" (Mastro, 2009, p. 332). Reinforcing one's cultural position could be an outcome of marginalized or just plain absent representation.

The stereotypes racial and ethnic minorities on television often portray are serious, criminal, and dangerous. Though mass media representations of Latinos have gradually increased over the course of several decades, the nature of Latino portrayals has remained relatively negative, marginalizing, and unchanged. Such an alarming media reality is hard to accept, but the general impression is apparent. Undoubtedly, the nature of racial and ethnic minority representations in the media is disheartening but another equally important concern is the frequency of overall representations.

Overall Racial and Ethnic Media Representations

The media hold great power in not only reflecting the dominant racial ideologies in the U.S., but in shaping those ideologies by assigning racial characteristics to minority and majority group members (Omi & Winant, 2010). As noted in the preceding section, compared to actual population numbers, the representation of racially and ethnically diverse people on television has been largely unreflective of reality. African American

representation has gradually increased on television, though predominantly through marginalizing stereotyped characters in sitcoms, and their numbers slightly exceed their actual population numbers (Mastro & Robinson, 2000; Mastro & Stern, 2003; Means Coleman, 1998). Latinos are recently experiencing higher visibility on television but are still underrepresented and relegated to highly stereotypical roles (Mastro & Robinson, 2000). Unlike African Americans and Latinos, Asian Americans remain practically invisible on television, and the few that are visible often portray marginalized stereotypes (Park et al., 2006). White Americans dominate television fare (behind and in front of the camera), and the racially diverse reality of America is largely ignored and relegated to stereotypes (Mastro & Stern, 2003). Reactions to this startling media reality for racial and ethnic minority groups have varied, and Latinos in particular often exercise their agency as popular actors and actresses to alter pervasive negative portrayals. These proactive stances have met with some criticism too, demonstrating that it is difficult to completely avoid traces of stereotyping.

Altering Representations. Admittedly, not all media exclusively portray Latinos in a stereotypical manner, as there are some signs of progress. ABC's *Ugly Betty* enjoyed widespread popularity with Latina actress America Ferrera as the lead character who played a fashion magazine editor, with her cultural identity integrated into the show's storyline. Valdivia (2010) points out how Ferrera was made to cross over into the mainstream; as her success continued, Ferrera got thinner and lighter, which shows how dominant power structures persist and stars will often conform to a general whitening to fall in line with U.S. ideals of beauty. Comedian George Lopez's late night show aired

on TBS in 2009, and had diverse audiences. Lopez is the first Latino to secure a permanent gig as a late night show host. Actress Eva Longoria plays Gabrielle Solis on the hit show *Desperate Housewives* and told CNN reporter Soledad O'Brien, "I think there is progress being made [and there are] amazing new shows, Selena Gomez, Demi Lovato and amazing stars… We can't just sit back, as an actor, and go 'cast me'!" (Gotlieb, 2009). Though Longoria says she refuses to conform to Latina stereotypes, and some scholars say the overt hypersexuality of her characters are toned down, elements of the feisty tropical Latina stereotype permeate through her dialogue and situations (Merskin, 2007).

Nevertheless, many Latino actors and actresses, like other historically marginalized groups, feel responsibility for putting their power and fame towards the betterment of their ethnic and racial media portrayals (Means Coleman, 1998). One obvious way, said Longoria, is to get behind the camera and influence changes. This sort of behind-the-scenes strategy of resisting narrow stereotypes has been ongoing at least since the early twentieth century; not only have Latinos "protested denigrating news coverage and media representation in the United States" but media advocacy and assuming the roles of media professionals have resulted in both mainstream and independent projects "to gain creative agency over such representations" (Beltran, 2009, p. 12). However, some critical scholars caution that these examples are the exception, as stereotypical "one-dimensional images continue to be seen and to carry weight today, even as some Latina/o actors and media professionals are experiencing greater opportunities" (Beltran, 2009, p. 2). Additionally, the overwhelming majority (upwards

of 90 percent) of media rests in the hands of White producers and network owners (Mastro, 2009). This is not to accuse White producers and network owners for always intentionally casting racial minorities stereotypically. However, the White racial framing that underlies systemic racism exists through institutions like the media, and, for example, those within who control portrayals. While it is encouraging that Latino actors and actresses use their popular public figure status to promote change from within, there is much to learn in terms of how diverse audiences respond to their own in-group on-screen portrayals, since they lack the power to change mediated depictions yet are undoubtedly influenced by the depictions. Importantly, few studies have focused on racial minorities' responses to their own in-group media portrayals. The following section highlights findings from studies that employed racially diverse participants' responses to media portrayals of their own and other racial groups.

Audience Responses. While it is readily apparent that the media largely portray racial and ethnic groups (Latinos in particular) in stereotypical roles, the responses to such portrayals by racial in-group members remain understudied. Most research has examined responses from White audiences. The implications for diverse audiences are unmistakable, especially because media representations are a key information source about others and "insofar as individuals employ media in forming impressions and making judgments, beliefs and attitudes should reflect the types of content frequently encountered" (Oliver, Ramasubramanian, & Kim, 2009, p. 274). However, as the historical overview of media stereotypes shows, stereotypes still persist.

In Rojas' (2004) study with Latinas in the U.S. (immigrant and non-immigrant) regarding hypersexual Latina "spitfire" images in popular media, the participants expressed feeling "equally attacked, insulted, offended and embarrassed by the images of models in scanty clothing, the sexual themes of certain entertainment and humor shows, and the representation of sexuality" (p. 144). This group of Latinas invoked class as a difference marker to define the "others" they see as target audiences. The women perceived themselves as somewhat immune to the negative, stereotypical effects of their own racial and ethnic in-group members on television due to a heightened consciousness they achieved through education. Rojas' (2004) sample of both recent immigrant and non-immigrant U.S.-born Latinas used the concept of education to mean class status associated with schooling versus symbolic of having values. The ability to contest and reject negative in-group portrayals is a result of heightened consciousness due, in part, to formal education, which contributes to the ability to critically consume media, recognize negative in-group stereotypes, and remain unaffected by such highly unrealistic portrayals. While some groups resist and sometimes provide counter-narratives upon recognition of their in-group stereotypes in the media, others have shown different reactions.

In one of the few studies focusing on diverse audience's responses to race-based joking, Park et al. (2006) found that in a series of focus groups, most participants (White, African American, and Asian American), found the hit movie *Rush Hour 2's* race-based joking inoffensive and funny. An age-old debate persists as to whether viewers of racially-charged humor laugh *at* or *with* the joke-tellers, and whether such humor

distinguishes social commentary from satire and the ideological reproduction of race-based stereotypes. Participants laughed and were not offended because the genre lent well to this particular type of content, but noted the potential for racist framing. The joke-tellers' racial categorization and perceived appropriateness arose as a topic of discussion among the focus group participants: "Several participants said that the race of the person telling a joke can dictate whether or not the joke is racist" (Park et al., 2006, p. 167). Since the joke tellers were both minorities in the movie (Chris Tucker is African American and Jackie Chan is Chinese), participants accepted the racial joking as funny instead of seriously racist. Also, because the main characters themselves were not offended by the joking, the racial humor was accepted as rather harmless.

Participants showed racial essentializing, as "their understanding of Black and Asian characters did not go beyond their stereotypical depictions" and the main minority characters were seen as representative of their in-group (Park et al., 2006, p. 169). Asian participants pinpointed the stereotypes, but regarded the Asian characters in a positive light, a "sign of progress" to be celebrated by the Asian American community (Park et al., 2006, p. 169) due to sheer representation in a well-received movie. After all, an Asian man in a leading role, let alone a positive one, is not common in American media (Deo et al., 2008). Asian American participants engaged in self-distancing from Jackie Chan's character, as they read him as Chinese, a noted distinction in acculturation level. Pyke and Dang (2003) also found that while there is social distancing between the assimilated Asians in America (Asian-Americans) and the bicultural or FOB ("fresh off the boat") Asians, both must "invest great effort in constructing an identity that defies

the racialized categories and derogatory assumptions of the mainstream that cast them as foreigners" (p. 164). Black participants, like many of the Asian participants, overlooked the stereotypical focus on their own race to celebrate the positive cross-racial friendship expressed in the film. Black participants found their in-group stereotypes humorous, and some even identified with the main Black character. In fact, Black entertainers who capitalize on their own racial stereotypes, such as Dave Chappelle, were widely acknowledged.

Resorting to a joking attitude as primary explanation, the participants noted that "it was only a comedy and thus not intended to offend viewers," and perhaps the moderators were "reading too much into it" (Park et al., 2006, p. 171). As Picca and Feagin (2007) allude, the participants buy into the idea that racial humor and joking is acceptable, as long as the audience members know how to take a joke. These results and perceptions are dangerously positioned on the fine line of out-grouping non-Whites, promoting "a sense of normalcy of Whiteness among viewers while encouraging them to see non-Whites as racially marked and different" (Park et al., 2006, p. 173). In sum, the results are troubling because they show that "not only do different racial audiences enjoy racial jokes in comedy but they are also much more inclined to see truth in racial stereotypes than to cast doubt on them" (Park et al., 2006, p. 173). It is precisely this viewpoint that renders comedic racial stereotypes complicated, as they practically help validate racial differences as natural and unchallengeable.

The contrasting point in the current study is exploring the broader scope of racially diverse audiences' perceptions of racial humor by stand-up comedians alone on the stage

but couched in mainstream television media; while actors Chris Tucker and Jackie Chan performed in the *Rush Hour* movies alongside one another, their camaraderie developed progressively, which allowed the two actors to engage in friendly, racially-motivated joking as bonding. The setting with stand-up comedians is distinct in that the comedians alone make racial jokes to mass diverse audiences with which they do not have established camaraderie. Though these audiences are typically self-selected, the inherent pervasiveness of television makes this sort of racial humor potentially far-reaching and available in many homes.

An exception to mainstream media's narrow stereotyping of diverse groups is the television stand-up comedy format, with comedians who commonly invoke racially-motivated and/or self-deprecating humor with a complexity of positive and negative spins. Latino comedians are uniquely positioned in televised performances with captive audiences, and many regularly draw upon race-based humor for laughs. With the massive popularity of comedy-specific channels like Comedy Central, implicit and explicit racially-motivated humor is an important avenue for further studying media primes and effects. The "just joking" nature of humor permits comedians to tell race-based jokes to mass audiences, despite making fun of various groups. Under the guise of humor, racism is permitted, accepted, and celebrated as entertainment. The very determination of whether joke content is racist or just harmless entertainment rests at the center of the debate, which is another objective of the current study. An overview of comedy, sense of humor, and racial and ethnic joking ensues.

Comedy, Sense of Humor, and Racial and Ethnic Joking

Comedy has remained a popular form of entertainment for centuries, encompassing multiple generations of comics whose derived personas are best described as clever fools who poke fun at the mundane and the controversial at once (Gilbert, 2004). Stand-up comedy as a form of entertainment was initially inexpensive to watch, as comedians were seen as a portable medium, performing for mostly all-male audiences with little money in towns across the country (Gilbert, 2004). With the proliferation of technology and media, some view television as America's jester because "it has assumed the guise of an idiot while actually accruing the advantages of power and authority behind the smoke screen of its self-degradation" (Marc, 1998, p. 250). Nevertheless, television makes stand-up and other varieties of comedy widely accessible.

Whether in-person or viewed through a technological medium, comedy is inherently performative and produced carefully to elicit laughter from audience members. In fact, laughter is the primary indicator of a comedian's success, as it is ultimately the "build-up and sudden release of tension" (Horowitz, 1997, p. 10). Laughter is so powerful, if someone is placed in a group where everyone else is laughing, they will laugh as well without necessarily having to know why (Rappoport, 2005), and humor overall may very well be one of the most effective weapons of the human mind (Boskin & Dorinson, 1998). Stand-up comedy is well-positioned for direct interactivity with audience members. Comedians live by the rule to "keep what works," which speaks to the crucial role audiences play in creating and legitimizing such public comedic performances (Levine, 1977, p. 162). Public comedy performances rely heavily on both verbal and nonverbal elements, including whispering, stuttering, stumbling, loudness, exclamations,

pitch and intonation inflections, pace, pauses and sudden disruptions in discourse (Picca & Feagin, 2007; Scarpetta & Spagnolli, 2009).

Comedy has evolved into a lucrative business for those who are able to achieve widespread success with diverse and niche audiences. Comedians often discover their own ideas about what is funny, but often times making fun of the simplest aspects of life resonates best with mass audiences: "The truth is funny. Honest discovery, observation, and reaction [are] better than contrived invention" (Halpern & Close, 2001, p. 15). Simple, realistic material and self-deprecation are primary features, though they may also be subversive (Gilbert, 2004). Early scholars argued that marginal humor, the practice of many comedians using their own marginal position(s) in society as inspiration, occupies a necessary space in daily life. For example, Levine (1977) stated, "the need to laugh at our enemies, our situation, ourselves, is a common one" so that people might better cope with life's hardships and perhaps alleviate a sense of complete hopelessness (p. 157). Humor based on stereotypes, however, is not new or unique to a certain generation (Boskin & Dorinson, 1998). In fact, comedy resides among the necessities in life because, as some argue, it is a survival mechanism; without comedy and a good sense of humor, we might get overwhelmed with our insecurities and fears (Marcus & Godlasky, 2009). Though comedy ultimately intends to provide relief in the face of even the most serious of situations, individual responses vary widely.

Sense of Humor on a Continuum

A humor continuum ranging from cognitive engagement to practical disengagement describes the rationale underlying various responses to comedy. The cognitive

engagement end of the spectrum includes those who occupy a marginal position or sympathize with marginalized others targeted in jokes, and therefore, experience comedy more critically and with more emotional involvement for the social effects that might transpire beyond the comedy (Gray, 1994). The disengagement end of the spectrum describes those individuals who are either not included in the marginal groups being made fun of, or are members of those groups, but do not internalize their marginal position in this joking context, which allows them more flexibility to enjoy the jokes (Gray, 1994). Practical disengagement, in other words, helps explain the opposition between amusement and negative emotions (Morreall, 2009). For example, laughter that ensues from a disengaged individual may not be due to the "intrinsic ugliness or stupidity of someone else but by our perception of ourselves as superior" (Gray, 1994, p. 25). The way a marginalized individual enters disengagement is with self-knowledge and self-distancing, where the outsider can become an insider and enjoy the jokes (Gray, 1994). It is not surprising, then, that the cognitively engaged end of the spectrum would include people who are assumed to have the inability to take a joke because "we grant comic license to people telling funny anecdotes, letting them exaggerate the absurdity of real situations, and create extra details" and when someone objects or corrects the joke-teller, they would likely be hushed by other listeners (Morreall, 2009, p. 102).

Still, to be practically concerned about a humor situation is to be emotionally involved, whether for ourselves personally, or by having compassion for those targeted. The humor continuum accurately portrays the diverse comedy experience because "whether comics target specific audience members or generalize about groups, their

jokes can be dismissed as harmless ‘fun’. And yet, like any powerful rhetoric, humor produces real social and psychological effects” (Gilbert, 2004, p. 177). Often times, the perceived social identity of the comedian matters in how audiences respond to stereotype humor, just as a comedian’s own social identities matter in the decision whether to invoke stereotypes in their comedy material (Awkward, 2009).

African Americans and Comedy

Many comedians use their own life experiences as inspiration for their comedy routines, and often times minority identities, such as race, ethnicity, gender, and class status serve as primary material. Though race-based comedy material performed by racial in-group members about their own in-groups is not hard to find these days, race-based material was not always the focus for comedians of color. For example, Bill Cosby, deemed the most popular African American comedian of the ‘60s, enjoyed widespread success without using race-based jokes (Zoglin, 2008). Cosby made some jokes about the possibility of a Black president, but quickly dropped race-based material for more universal, colorblind material about his childhood experiences; some say he made a statement about race by simply ignoring it (Zoglin, 2008). Just a few years younger than Cosby, African American comedian Richard Pryor began doing comedy in the early 1960s, though his style was much different. Like African American comedian Dick Gregory, who achieved crossover success by performing in White nightclubs, Pryor spoke openly about race, often invoking explicit racial differences between Blacks and Whites. Unlike Cosby, Pryor treated race as unavoidable and did so in a way that rang true for Black audiences without excluding White audiences. In fact, Pryor felt

pressured to appeal to White audiences, and was even told to "wait until he really made it" before catering exclusively to Black audiences (Marc, 1998). These early comedians paved the way for other widely acclaimed African American comedians, including Eddie Murphy, Chris Rock, and Whoopi Goldberg to name a few (Rappoport, 2005).

Pryor, however, reached pioneer status for his race-based style in the civil rights era: "for White America, emerging from an era of racial strife, Pryor's comedy was harsh but healing" (Zoglin, 2008, p. 63). Pryor's outspoken, blunt, sarcastic comedic style underwent a transformation, to some extent, upon his return from Africa in 1979; he used the 'N' word often in his comedy, but then vowed to never use the word again based on an epiphany he had in Africa that prompted a more critical stance (Marc, 1998). More recently, popular African American comedian Dave Chappelle experienced a similar epiphany upon returning from a trip to Africa. Chappelle quit his popular show, *Chappelle's Show*, on Comedy Central because he questioned why his young audience base was laughing at his race-based material (K.L., 2006; Murphy, 2007). Initially, Pryor and Chappelle saw their use of the 'N' word as a detoxification of the word, claiming it as a token of pride, detaching it from its historically derogatory meaning (Rappoport, 2005). Comedians who use racial and ethnic slurs in their jokes have, at times, reflected social tensions at various points in American history and aside from their shock value they have also fed distasteful, negative functions in American life (Boskin & Dorinson, 1998). Racial performances involve much more than racial language, for an array of body movements such as gestures, eye movements, head shakes, and furtive or signaling looks are key to effective delivery (Picca & Feagin, 2007). Comedians are often

subjected to the "Archie Bunker[4] Question" in race-based humor: "When humor is used in a context of parody designed to show that stereotypes about minorities are essentially narrow minded and stupid, does it really reduce prejudice, or does it make prejudice seem more acceptable?" (Rappoport, 2005, p. 3). Race-based comedy performances are not exclusive to African American comedians, as Latinos also rely on race relations for their routines.

Latinos and Comedy

The *Latin Kings of Comedy*, including Paul Rodriguez, George Lopez, Cheech Marin, Alex Reymundo, and Joey Medina enjoyed widespread success with nationwide tours, a DVD that grossed $8.5 million in the first six months of its release, and individual stand-up comedy fame (Brien, 2002). Rodriguez performs his stand-up tour regularly, and is celebrated as a one-man show who combines his life story with comedy in a clever way (Rodriguez, 2003). Marin, best known for his part in the comedic duo of the satirical, counter-culture *Cheech and Chong,* directs the Broadway production of *Latinologues* in addition to being a director, actor, writer, and musician (Marin, 2007). Reymundo performs for Showtime and Comedy Central with his famous acts that rely on Latino class-based stereotypes; some of his recent shows include "Red-Nexican" and "Hick-Spanic" (Reymundo, 2011). Medina currently hosts, directs, and produces the *Cholo Comedy Slam*, *Latin Palooza*, and the *Loco Comedy Jam* (Medina, 2011). Lopez is the first Latino to secure a permanent late night talk show, *Lopez Tonight*, on TBS,

[4] Archie Bunker, a White male character, was an overt racist on the popular television show *All in the Family* and regularly expressed his stereotypes of many racial and ethnic groups.

and has achieved crossover success with diverse audiences not limited to Latinos (Lopez, 2011).

The vast majority of Latino comedians use their own cultural insights to inform their routines, but still invoke common stereotypes about various Latino subgroups. Among the more controversial Latino comedians, Carlos Mencia has been likened to Pryor and Chappelle for his explicit style of race-based comedy (Bergheim & Macias, 1994; Deggans, 2006). Mencia cites his humble upbringing in the "ghetto" in East Los Angeles for who he is and the type of comedy he focuses on (Deggans, 2006). Among rising Latino comedians, "Mencia has received, by far, the most television air time" (Bergheim & Macias, 1994, p. 17) boasting Comedy Central's third-largest viewing audience in the channel's history with an average of 1.4 million viewers per episode of his television show, *Mind of Mencia* (Deggans, 2006). Though racial and ethnic comedy abounds in the modern day, gender and class-based routines are worth mentioning as they also provide comedians with marginal social identities to poke fun at.

Women and Comedy

Though stand-up comedy has been male-dominated from the start and difficult for women to break into and succeed in, female comedians have paved their own path for decades (Rappoport, 2005; Walker & Dresner, 1998). Several prominent female comedians, including Lucille Ball, Phyllis Diller, Carol Burnett, and Joan Rivers (each of whose careers lasted over a quarter of a century) broke ground for today's younger, more radical comedians (Horowitz, 1997). As one scholar notes, the key transitional figure who bridged the gap between self-deprecation and liberated feminist comics was

Joan Rivers (Marc, 1998). During the 1980s, there was more widespread public acceptance of more aggressive styles of feminist humor with the debut of comedians like Rita Rudner, Paula Poundstone, Ellen DeGeneres, Whoopi Goldberg, Roseanne Barr, and Margaret Cho (Rappoport, 2005). However, some argue that comedy is so male-dominated, female comics have to sacrifice feminine approval for comic approval (Gilbert, 2004). In other words, female comedians face an extra burden due to their gender "to achieve a delicate balance [of] projecting enough power to take control of the audience and enough vulnerability to be non-threatening" (Gilbert, 2004, p. 13). Despite these perceived limitations for female comedians, a self-deprecating tone prevails with many, while still poking fun at the basic aspects of life many can relate to, gender aside. Class and racial identity intersecting with gendered identity is apparent in some female comedians' routines. For example, Mae West frequently played upon her interactions with Black maids and upper class White women to inform her comic appeal (Robertson Wojcik, 2002).

Class and Comedy

One of the most widespread types of class humor remains southern "redneck" humor in the U.S., as the comedians who perform such material call it (Blount, 1998; Morreall, 2009). Also known as "blue collar comedy," White American comedians Jeff Foxworthy, Bill Engvall, Ron White, and "Larry the Cable Guy" released a movie in 2003 showcasing highlights from their Blue Collar Comedy Tour (Harding, 2003). Each comedian also tours individually and makes appearances on television shows and movies periodically. For example, Foxworthy has achieved widespread success across the U.S.

for his stand-up comedy making fun of "rednecks" to "redneck" audiences; Interestingly, he does not exhibit the features of "rednecks" in his jokes, as he is handsome, well-dressed, and articulate (Morreall, 2009). Foxworthy's fellow "redneck" comedian, Dan Whitney performs as "Larry the Cable Guy" and has endeared himself to his "redneck" audiences as he dresses and acts the part with his somewhat disheveled appearance, low level intelligence, and thick southern accent (Morreall, 2009). Though the self-proclaimed "blue collar" comedians are usually White men from the southern U.S., it is important to note that racial and ethnic humor disparagements have seldom lacked a class component (Dewey, 2007). Comedy can be manipulated for a comedian's agenda, whether they take a critical stance against negative stereotypes or exploit stereotypes for fun. Audience perceptions and effects based partially on these strategies are wide ranging.

Marginal Humor: Good or Bad?

As the preceding overview demonstrates, comedians performing material based on their own marginal or minority identities are not a recent phenomenon. In fact, much humor in centuries past was quite cruel, such as laughing at dwarves and people with deformities, the mentally retarded and the insane (Morreall, 2009). Undoubtedly though, comedy is also powerful and often seeks to unsettle established norms by serving "as a weapon for the disenfranchised to critique the attitudes, behaviors, and more of the empowered, exposing them" (Morreall, 2009, p. 104). In other words, jokes about the privileged are more acceptable, but "joking about, satirizing, or comically ridiculing the subjugated is said to reinforce their subjugation" (Awkward, 2009, p. 21). Minority

comedians view their own performances, however explicit and controversial, as social actions open to interpretation as negative and detrimental to the groups depicted, or positive in shifting power to minorities to comment on real-world occurrences in a humorous tone. The most common strategies follow, though the actual outcomes of such comedy are not easily pinpointed.

Keeping the Marginalized, Marginalized

As the humor continuum implies, practical and cognitive disengagement can have harmful effects on audiences, as comedy might be seen as an irresponsible promotion of prejudice void of compassion for others (Morreall, 2009). Many scholars are critical of race-based humor since it may perpetuate "violence in a social way by continuing to mark people as strange, repulsive and dangerous" (Raj, 2008/2009, p. 10). Laughing off the harsh lived realities of minority groups as they are depicted in extreme stereotypes sends the message that the problems are trivial at best, and may even increase the suffering of those who are already suffering in society; ultimately, marginalized groups as the butt of jokes are kept in their marginal place with comedy reminding audiences of supposed essential differences. Not only does negative stereotyping couched in humor impede individuals' connectedness with the stereotyped others, but it has great potential to promote insensitivity, callousness, or even outright cruelty towards those targeted in jokes (Means Coleman, 1998; Morreall, 2009). More specifically, "jokes at the expense of people who are clearly of lower status than the observers may also be enjoyed, but in this instance there is usually some need on the part of observers to reinforce their feeling of superiority" (Rappoport, 2005, p. 16). Audience members also exude a tendency to

laugh more when the jokes are about other groups, not the ones they personally belong to. While some scholars express concern about the potential real effects on the disenfranchised groups depicted negatively in stereotypical humor, others argue that it is possible to playfully exploit stereotypes.

Playful Stereotype Exploitation

Rappoport (2005) argues that a certain level of maturity is required to enjoy race-based stereotypes in comedy, and as long as the joke-teller's intent is to amuse and not insult, it is acceptable. Often times race-based jokes draw upon characters and (inter)actions that are extreme and supposed to be far-fetched from what people would say and do in similar real-world situations, particularly when the stereotypes include themes of stupidity, laziness, or sexual promiscuity (Morreall, 2009). Marginal comedians who play upon stereotypes about their own groups or those of others have defended their use with the argument that they did not personally create the stereotypes, but humor allows for playful stereotype exploitation (Rappoport, 2005). After all, if the stereotype, no matter how negative and degrading, is embedded in a joking context, no one is expected to object to it; unless, of course, the person lacks a sense of humor. As Morreall (2009) states, "putting a 'play frame' around stereotypes in jokes aestheticizes them, removing them, at least temporarily, from moral scrutiny" (p. 107). More specifically, those who tell race-based stereotype (or other minority group-targeted) jokes "are disengaged cognitively and practically from the stereotypes in what they are saying, and they don't care about the harm that circulating those stereotypes may cause" (Morreall, 2009, p. 106). As for audiences, those who enjoy sexist or racist jokes, for

example, seem to allow harmful stereotypes in under their moral radar, if only momentarily, when it is done in an obvious comedic tone.

Powerlessness as Control in Comedy

Though invoking stereotypes in comedy impacts audiences differently, and comedians justify or condemn this practice to varying extents, comedians also see comedy as a power and control platform. As Rappoport (2005) states, "jokes may be an effective way for people to demonstrate pride in their group identity" and, depending on the context, "such humor can be offensive, aimed at ridicule of a stereotyped group; defensive, aimed at protecting the group from ridicule; or both" (p. 1). The defensive function implies empowerment for marginalized groups. More specifically, "by voicing their powerlessness in a comedic context, marginalized individuals are temporarily in control of an audience and thus *rhetorically* empowered. Marginal stand-up comics participate in an extraordinary cultural phenomenon: they get paid for articulating subversive messages, paid sometimes by the very people they lampoon and lambast" (Gilbert, 2004, p. 177). This attitude towards joking prevails across contexts, not just limited to stand-up comedy settings. For example, in light of World War II, Warsaw ghetto jokes proliferated as a defense mechanism "to deflate the enemy to transmute the marks of subordination and humiliation imposed by the Nazi oppressor into signs of privilege and status," which is a common strategy for those victimized by dominant discourse (Kaplan, 2002, p. 347). Collective stigmatization can potentially result in counter-action through comedy as a way to preserve a certain image of the collective, or how members of the stigmatized group desire to be seen.

This collectivity prevails among racial and ethnic minority groups in the U.S. Pryor openly aimed to isolate White audience members while simultaneously unifying African Americans to create and preserve an informed version of Blackness (Awkward, 2009). Pryor may be the comedian, but the Whites provide the comedy, and as Pryor once stated, "This is the fun part for me," as he enjoyed a rare interlude as spectator when performing race-based comedy with Whites in the audience (Limon, 2000, p. 84). Other more recent examples show how people of color see their own use of racial humor as empowerment. Haygood (2000) asserts that Spike Lee's *The Original Kings of Comedy* serves as a kind of explainer:

> It is a kind of history lesson of the American Negro laugh track. The Whites in the audience stand out. They [African American comedians] are the interrogators; for once, it is not the other way around. There is a nervous sweetness when the camera pans the audience, settling, momentarily, upon Whites seated next to Blacks (p. 32).

Overall, powerlessness transformed into control and empowerment in comedy supports the claim that "when any group of people, no matter how diverse, is facing a collective life-threatening situation, they invariably come together and set aside their differences" (Rappoport, 2005, p. 125).

Comedy as Critical Social Commentary

Aside from a feeling of empowerment in performing comedy, others argue in favor of critical social commentary stemming from race-based and other forms of marginal comedy performances. Put simply, minorities "tell jokes that ridicule members of their own ingroup" because such jokes "can serve an implicit educational or corrective purpose and relate to a number of other issues" (Rappoport, 2005, p. 36). Contributing

meaningfully to critical issues by joking about stereotypes also may serve as an outlet for anger and frustration that many experience when interpreting the social world around them, as Mencia firmly believes (Bergheim & Macias, 1994). Though this tendency may be most apparent in stand-up comedy, others in the media actively engage racist humor to undermine stereotypes: "Saucy stand-up comedians, offbeat television shows, such as *South Park* and *Chappelle's Show*, and people in interracial friendships often use racist joking in a sarcastic manner to illustrate the absurdity of racist stereotyping" (Picca & Feagin, 2007, p. 251). There exists a fine line between joke tellers who use racist material to prove stereotypes ridiculous and those who would actually be labeled as racist for these very same actions. Defining the point of transcendence beyond stereotype perpetuation and real, meaningful social criticism is a daunting task.

Whether those comedians or media figures who invoke negative stereotypes as part of their comedy routines are actually contributing to meaningful social critique or simply perpetuating stereotypes as true is certainly subject to debate. Some say comedians' degrading jokes, (especially if they belong to the dominant group) should automatically be treated as hate speech (Awkward, 2009). Audiences' tight-lipped refusal to laugh, too, depends on who tells the joke and who is in the audience and despite the self-selected nature of most comedy audiences, this attitude may be implicitly understood. Whether an audience member is motivated to freely laugh at jokes and why they laugh can be quite complicated. For example, when radio personality Don Imus, in a distasteful attempt to be funny, called the Rutgers' women's basketball players "nappy-headed hos," this jab was widely scrutinized, and Imus ultimately left his radio

show (Awkward, 2009). The hot-button question arose: Would Imus' comment on the air have been as criticized if he were an in-group member, an African American? Similarly, at times minority comedians are accused of catering to stereotypes because they don't hold any socially critical undertones. For example, Latino comedian Marin, of *Cheech and Chong* fame, "has been criticized by some Hispanics for acting too White. Among Asians, Margaret Cho has been accused of catering to stereotypes about Korean Americans. In the early 1960s, Lenny Bruce was hated by some Jews for being a troublemaker" due to his heavy self-deprecation with Jewish stereotypes (Awkward, 2009, p. 158). So, despite comedians being a part of the group they are stereotypically depicting in their comedy routines, this practice is not always accepted by audience members and surely depends on a variety of factors including content, delivery, and the comedian's point by discussing certain subject matter.

The Importance of Race-Based Comedy

Clearly, comedians' use of race-based, self-deprecating and other marginalizing humor is negotiated differently by comedians themselves, as well as the diverse audience members for whom they perform. Humor, comedy, and particularly race-based material provide an undeniably fruitful, controversial area worthy of greater attention. Racial humor presents special considerations because "particular ideas are divulged through humor without having to be explicitly acknowledged" which "brings to the fore notions of privilege" (Raj, 2008/2009, p. 10). As some scholars wonder, does the context of "just joking" truly provide a safe haven for exchanging otherwise racist thoughts in "backstage" and "frontstage" settings (Picca & Feagin, 2007)? Whether such joking is

actually harmless remains debatable. As Rappoport (2005) states, “A more practical argument for the study of humor is that it facilitates relationships between people throughout society” (p. 8), and often opens up a safe space where even the most heated, pressing social issues can be brought to the surface. Ford (1997), however, disagrees with Rappoport’s (2005) assertion: “Disparagement of social groups through humor increases our tolerance or acceptance of discrimination against out-groups” and, “in this climate, discriminatory behavior can be easily rationalized as falling within the bounds of social acceptability” (p. 272). Clearly, competing arguments in favor of and against race-based comedy abound. In addition, audience responses to race-based comedy remain understudied and this is especially true for racial and ethnic minority group members whose groups are targeted in the race-based comedy material.

Today, comedy is a staple in American television programming, but audience reactions to various forms of comedy vary. Not everyone holds a deep appreciation for humor generally, whether “in their willingness to go out of their way to experience it, in their ability to make up jokes or wisecracks on their own, and in their tendencies to use humor as a defense mechanism” (Rappoport, 2005, p. 9). Adding a racial or ethnic stereotype focus to comedy complicates the way diverse audiences respond. In fact, individual in-group identity memberships often play a role in if not outright dictate the way that individuals process race-based comedy, especially when invoking degrading stereotypes against any variety of in-group membership characteristics. Raj (2008/2009) points out that “culturally, whether someone finds something funny is partly dependent on their sex and race” (p. 10). More specifically, what the dominant culture might

consider positive might be considered negative by an ethnic culture in the context of comedy (Valdivia, 2010). Race and media effects scholars urge future research to gauge racial groups' responses to media depictions of in-group and out-group members (Ford, 1997; Mastro et al., 2008). How do Latinos feel about this kind of humor when delivered from in-group (Latino) members to diverse audiences, including both in-group and out-group members? The first portion of the current study assesses how Latino audiences negotiate race-based humor depending on their perceptions of who is telling the jokes and to which ethnic group they belong, in addition to how humorous, enjoyable, and stereotypical participants find the race-based comedy material.

For audiences exposed to narrow stereotypes of people of color, the potential to prime and inform real-world interactions exists. Individual audience members negotiate their own social identification by engaging in in-group characteristic definitions and boundaries compared against those of out-groups (Tajfel, 1981). When audiences lack real world interactions with out-group members, mediated imagery assists in forming perceptions about out-group members; if the portrayals are mostly negative these widespread media images of stereotypical characters hold great potential in priming audiences, and potentially influencing the way they make judgments against out-group members when presented with real-world opportunities to do so. The last section of this chapter elaborates upon media priming, which provides the overarching rationale for the current study's design, stimuli, and sequence.

Media Priming

Priming research has grown remarkably within the past six years, typically relies on what is already known from psychology, and "provides validation that the media can act as a prime in a unique research domain, and that a variety of media (e.g., advertisements, rock music videos, newsletters) can act as primes" (Roskos-Ewoldsen, Roskos-Ewoldsen, & Carpentier, 2009, p. 78). Media priming describes a process in which "activated cognitions may affect interpretations of or responses to subsequent stimuli that are relevant to the primed cognitions, at least for a short time" and "for spreading activation to occur there must be an associative network that connects cognitions associated with minority groups to stereotyped characteristics" (Oliver, Ramasubramanian, & Kim, 2009, p. 280). Due to the inherently pervasive nature of television, media priming is often taken for granted as an obvious given.

While primes are not a one-shot immediate influence, they refer "to the process through which information that has been recently activated by media consumption is used to guide judgments regarding target out-group members" and can be quite powerful because "even a single exposure to racial/ethnic stereotypes in the media can, at least in the short term, influence real-world evaluations of minorities" as well as "provoke stereotypic responses, [and] guide intergroup outcomes" (Mastro, 2009, p. 333). Racial stereotype primes potentially create lasting impressions that manifest in subsequent behavior, and often depend on intensity and recency but do not necessarily have to be explicit.

Racial Priming

Priming exerts great influence in linking particular attributes, actions, and social positions to racial and ethnic groups. The socializing power of television to mass diverse audiences and how such priming occurs is of particular interest and scholars suggest that the media prime various stereotypes based on many identities including race, ethnicity, and gender (Ford, 1997; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000; Hansen & Hansen, 1988; Johnson, Adams, Hall, & Ashburn, 1997; Mastro, 2003; Mastro et al., 2008; Pan & Kosicki, 1996; Peffley, Shields, & Williams, 1996; Power, Murphy, & Coover, 1996). Race priming research has explored news stories' depictions of African Americans and participants' reliance on these images to inform subsequent perceptions of African Americans collectively (Abraham & Appiah, 2006). Other work more specifically supports the notion that racial media primes with criminal depictions have the potential to result in differential attributions for African American and White suspects' behavior, including dispositional explanations for Black criminals versus the situational explanations for Whites; Black criminality has been largely linked to physical attributes when it comes to certain social issues in the context of racial priming (Dixon, 2008; Dixon & Azocar, 2007; Dixon & Linz, 2000; Dixon & Linz, 2002; Ford, 1997). Other research demonstrates the power of media primes in individuals' likelihood to internalize negative stereotypes (Wheeler, Jarvis, & Petty, 2001), and others provide evidence for a correlation between media consumption and stereotype adherence (Mastro et al., 2008; Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, & Ortiz, 2007; Mastro & Kopacz, 2006). Another fruitful media avenue towards better understanding the potential for primes to impact social perceptions is entertainment television programming precisely because it is often a broad

genre not meant to be taken seriously (Ford, 1997; Mastro, 2003). Key findings to relevant priming research in the particular preceding areas of interest are explicated.

News Stories and Priming

News stories are among the well-studied areas of television images in media priming research, as television features crime stories frequently. In Abraham and Appiah's (2006) work, upon being implicitly primed with racially diverse individuals depicted in news stories, White participants tended to make stronger associations between Blacks and social problems. The study did not explicitly use visual racial imagery in the stories, but the White participants accessed race-based stereotypes to help frame their understanding of African Americans upon seeing news stories depicting social problems. Similarly, Johnson, Bushman, and Dovidio (2008) found that upon exposure to media pictures of Blacks looting after Hurricane Katrina, the White participants showed evidence of harboring negative attitudes towards Blacks, and a tendency to support harmful reactance or treatment of Blacks, which powerfully shows an extension of media-influenced attitudes into subsequent potential (inter)actions.

Though media priming effects are often short-lived, Dixon and Azocar (2007) examined the effect that participants' tendency to frequent news programming has on African American stereotype adherence by White participants. The researchers found that as news viewing increases, the long-term effects result in the tendency to assume Blacks are lawbreakers more often. In another study, Dixon and Azocar (2007) primed White participants with Black or unidentified perpetrators in news stories to determine whether viewers support for punitive crime policy and negative racial beliefs were

influenced. They found "evidence that the process of news viewing reinforces a cognitive link between Blacks and lawbreaking" (Dixon & Azocar, 2007, p. 230), and in the specific contexts of structural limitations to success, support for the death penalty, and culpability judgments were influenced. To some degree, then, these effects are driven by the Black criminal stereotype's potential to prime attitudes towards relevant group members in potentially real-world topics, such as perceived guilt. The danger lies in the potential for these effects to be chronically activated over the course of more exposures or in real-world judgments, though attributing causality solely to media primes would be difficult. Dixon and Azocar (2007) boldly state "the cognitive association between Blacks and criminality is so strong that exposure to one elicits images of the other" (p. 247). As support for the preceding argument, Dixon (2008) found that White participants who showed tendencies to endorse stereotypes the most were also more likely to perceive a suspect as more threatening, whether the suspect was depicted as Black or with a vague identification. Furthermore, the stereotype-endorser participants were more likely to endorse punitive crime policy, and find a subsequent suspect culpable after viewing a news story with a Black criminal and a White victim, and less culpable when the victim and the perpetrator were both Black (Dixon, 2008). These findings related to news media primes support the media's ability to not just prime subsequent short-term evaluations, but also influence subsequent, disturbing potential interactions.

Television Consumption and Priming

Like African Americans, Latinos are frequently relegated to unfavorable, narrow stereotypical portrayals and the criminal stereotype prevails across many television programming genres. Instead of solely focusing on news stories, Mastro et al. (2007) explored the relationship between Whites' overall television exposure to Latinos and the subsequent real world perceptions of Latinos. Over all, "across all three stereotypes [criminality, intelligence, and work ethic] examined, the more television White viewers consumed, the more their evaluations of Latinos reflected their television characterization" (Mastro et al., 2007, p. 362). As television consumption increases, extant cognitions of Latinos on television translate into real world guides for evaluation. The implications for real world interactions between Latinos and Whites shed light on the importance of media representations as indicative of social perceptions. In another study, Mastro and Kopacz (2006) found that visible characteristics such as race often invoke preliminary category-based comparisons and the results indicated that "as televised representations of African Americans and Latinos deviated from White (in-group) normative portrayals, negative stereotypic evaluations of these groups increased" (p. 318). Therefore, stereotypical television portrayals tend to prime in-groups' (in this study, Whites') views on issues related to minorities. In other similar research, it appears "racial identification and media ambiguity affect both viewers' evaluations of target racial/ethnic out-group members as well as in-group esteem" (Mastro et al., 2008, p. 1). Media primes are quite powerful in their ability to have at least short-term influences on White participants' subsequent judgments of stereotyped "others," particularly African Americans and Latinos.

Stereotype Internalization and Priming

In line with racial stereotype priming, Wheeler et al. (2001) explored negative implications for individuals who are primed to actually internalize negative stereotypes. Building on prior research demonstrating how stereotypic activation can lead to stereotypic judgments of others, the researchers examined standardized test performance effects of priming non-African American participants with racial stereotypes depicting African Americans doing poorly on a test. Racial stereotypes are so pervasive, this study shows, "one need not be a member of a stereotyped group to show decreased performance" because "non-African American students for whom the African American stereotype was activated performed worse on a standardized math test than those who were not so primed" (Wheeler et al., 2001, p. 179). The implications are astounding for pervasive racial stereotypes and the potential for even out-group members to internalize such negativity by simple exposure to them. The preceding is one of the few studies that demonstrate a tendency for participants to be impacted directly by negative racial stereotypes about racial groups other than their own. Overall, as the preceding studies show, most literature at the intersections of race and stereotypes in media priming focuses on serious media forms, such as crime news stories, negative racial minority stereotypes in television programming, and real-world impacts such as policy decisions, culpability judgments, and test performances.

Entertainment and Priming

One of the most popular genres of television found easily in many formats is entertainment, yet entertainment where racial stereotypes are widespread has not

received much attention from scholars concerned with priming and subsequent real-world effects. In one pivotal study, Ford (1997) found that, primed with comedic, stereotypical portrayals of African Americans on television, White participants were overwhelmingly more likely to make negative judgments about African Americans when faced with real life crime scenarios similar to those in the comedy primes (e.g., dealing drugs and assault). More specifically, "when an abstract representation of a social category is primed, the priming is applicable only when the target person belongs to the primed category" (Ford, 1997, p. 271), since White participants revealed more negative social judgments of African Americans, but not for Whites.

In a similar study, White participants were primed with crime drama scripts with a murder storyline depicting an unquestionably guilty suspect, culled from an existing popular crime/legal drama television show (Mastro, 2003). Upon exposure to the negative racial media primes, the White participants in this study "were less likely to allocate justification for the behavior to equivalent portrayals of Latinos than to Whites" (Mastro, 2003, p. 109). This finding indicates that television drama programming is a relevant source for intergroup competition. Similarly, in a later study, Mastro et al. (2008) primed White participants with Latino-specific intelligence/educational attainment stereotypes in television storylines drawn from prime time family dramas; the two conditions included were of a dropout (stereotype) and a graduate (counter-stereotype). The study revealed that "merely priming racial/ethnic categories resulted in straightforward stereotyping (independent of both racial identification and television storyline)" (Mastro et al., 2008, p. 17). As the preceding research

demonstrates, entertainment programming, including comedy, family, and crime dramas, has great potential to prompt stereotype reliance by racial out-group (White) audience members.

The overall picture is clear: "exposure to negative racial imagery in the media adversely impacts subsequent evaluations of minorities" (Valdivia, 2010, p. 174). As Ford (1997) found with comedy, the "disparagement of social groups through humor (e.g., comical stereotypical portrayals of social out-groups) may indeed create a climate of tolerance of discrimination by providing cues that discrimination is not serious or is not to be examined critically" (p. 272). In addition, intergroup comparisons may underlie such stereotype-based evaluations as an in-group defense mechanism to enhance self-esteem by way of downward comparisons (Mastro et al., 2008). Given the extensive media history of highly stereotypical, narrow depictions of Latinos, the potential for such portrayals to prime viewers to interpret real-world Latinos in a stereotypical fashion should not be taken lightly, even in the context of entertainment media programming. The current study's specific objectives are now presented.

The Present Study

The preceding literature review reveals that the influences stereotypical portrayals can have upon those primed with stereotypes about their own in-group remain relatively unexplored, as most priming research includes exclusively White samples' perceptions about racial out-groups. In heeding a direction for research, the current study draws upon a Latino sample to determine whether similar trends for priming persist using entertainment media content (race-based comedy segments), and to gauge intergroup

dynamics when participants are presented with a real-world opportunity to make judgments (judicial review scenarios). As in prior work considering racial identification salience among participants (Mastro, 2003; Mastro et al., 2008), the current study not only measures racial identity but also distinguishes between high and low Latino identifiers. Though racial and ethnic in-group identities are typically assumed to be salient to racial and ethnic minorities, this assumption is not absolute, as other social or personal identities may compete with one's racial and ethnic identity (Mastro, 2003).

While prior research has largely focused on racial priming in crime news stories and other more serious media content such as crime dramas, this study attends to race-based comedy in entertainment television programming. Surprisingly, entertainment programming has not received much attention in its ability to perpetuate race-based stereotypes in a comedic context. Perhaps entertainment programming is not considered a serious form of media and therefore is not presumed to impact audiences' perceptions of representative group members in the immediate sense. There have been few studies to date that focus on entertainment media primes and subsequent real-world judgment responses. The current study uses race-based comedy segments targeting diverse racial and ethnic groups and depicting them in relevant negative stereotypes; the comedy material is adapted from a popular Comedy Central television show and is described in detail in the next chapter. In the first portion of the study, participants evaluated the comedy segments on perceived humor, stereotypicality, enjoyment, and perceptions of the comedian.

To assess the potential lasting impact race-based comedy priming has on participants' subsequent real-world judgments participants were presented with a second, ostensibly unrelated portion of the study (included in the same questionnaire) immediately following the comedy portion. Participants considered the case and facts provided for two separate alleged offenders under judicial review. They were then asked to evaluate the two separate alleged offenders on guilt based on the information provided. The judicial review scenarios invoke similar negative criminality stereotypes as in the race-based comedy segments, with one scenario involving a drug dealing accusation and the other involving an assault accusation.

The racial priming manipulation is two-fold, as the current study extends existing literature on entertainment media stereotypes and real-world interactions by first priming participants with race-based, stereotypical comedy segments performed by either an in-group (Latino) or out-group (White) comedian, then having participants evaluate two judicial review scenarios of in-group (Latino) or out-group (White) alleged offenders (Ford, 1997; Mastro et al., 2008). Overall, the study attempts to determine if and how priming Latino participants with race-based stereotypical comedy performed by in-group (Latino) or out-group (White) comedians leads to stereotype adherence upon evaluating real-world scenarios of in-group (Latinos) or out-group (Whites) alleged offenders facing crime accusations. The function that racial priming plays in determining evaluations of the comedians who perform race-based comedy degrading racial minority groups likely depends on the comedian's racial in-group membership, especially because the sample sought for this study is a racial minority group.

In sum, participants first read and evaluate the race-based comedy segments performed by either a Latino or a White comedian, and then read and evaluate the judicial review scenarios about either a Latino or White alleged offender (the full experimental design is detailed in the next chapter). Both the race-based comedy segments and the judicial review scenarios invoke criminal stereotypes, which are common portrayals of Latinos in the media. The social perceptions of the comedians who engage in racial joke-telling is of particular concern in the first part of the study, in addition to the extent that participants find the race-based comedy material humorous, enjoyable, and stereotypical. Media primes influence subsequent judgments of and behavior towards others and these stereotypical portrayals potentially inform how high and low Latino identifiers perceive in-group and out-group members. Therefore, the second part of the study focuses on whether participants respond differently to in-group (Latino) or out-group (White) alleged offenders on guilt based on the facts provided for the two separate cases (drug dealing and assault). Based on the preceding theoretical rationale and literature review, three hypotheses are posited.

Hypotheses

HY1: High Latino racial identifiers will differ from low Latino racial identifiers in their perceptions of the comedian, stereotypicality, humor, and enjoyment of the comedy segments.

HY2: Participants who perceive the comedian as an in-group (Latino) member will rate the race-based comedy as more enjoyable than when the comedian is a perceived out-group (White) member.

HY3: An interaction effect will occur between the participants' racial identification level, and the comedian's race when evaluating the comedy segments on perceptions of the comedian, stereotypicality, humor, and enjoyment.

HY4: Upon priming with race-based comedy, a three-way interaction effect will occur between the participants' racial identification level and the alleged offenders' race when rating the alleged offenders on guilt in the judicial review scenarios. Specifically, the participants' own racial identification level will moderate the two-way interaction between the comedian's perceived race and the judicial suspect's perceived race.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

A total of three pretests were conducted to test the effectiveness of the stimulus materials before conducting the final experiment. Pretest 1, entitled the *Names and Ethnic Identity Questionnaire* (see Appendix A), assessed individuals' perceived ethnic or racial identity based on a list of first and last names provided. Since in-group (Latino) and out-group (White) priming is a major component of the current study, the first pretest was necessary to ensure the racial and ethnic-specific names would clearly depict the intended racial group classifications. Ultimately, the Latino and White-specific names were of particular interest for the two independent variable manipulations: the comedian's race in the comedy portion and the alleged offender's race in the judicial portion of the study.

Pretest 2, the *Comedy Impressions Questionnaire* (Appendix B), and Pretest 3, *Enjoyment of Comedy Questionnaire* (Appendix D), helped to determine which comedy segments would work best in the final experiment. A total of six comedy segments were pretested initially, and then three were pretested again, and ultimately chosen for inclusion in the final experiment. More specifically, Pretest 2 assessed participants' reactions to six race-based comedy segments in terms of enjoyment, originality, offensiveness, humor, and stereotypicality. Participants completed other items related to their media viewing habits and preferences. In Pretest 3, three of the six comedy segments selected from Pretest 2 were tested with another sample to ensure that they

were perceived as race-based, stereotypical comedy as intended by the researcher. The first part of this chapter discusses the methods employed in the pretests and the second part focuses on the final experiment that was conducted.

Part 1: Pretests

Pretest 1 – Names and Ethnic Identity Questionnaire

The first step in this study was to generate a list of racial and/or ethnic-specific names and pretest them before use in the final experiment; prior studies have conducted similar pretests to ensure the in-group and out-group racial or ethnic membership manipulation is effective (Ford, 1997; Mastro, 2003; Mastro et al., 2008; Mastro, Tamborini, & Hullett, 2005). The list of names was initially generated through a search of websites listing popular ethnic names for various racial and ethnic groups (Evans, 2011; "Top 100 Baby Names: Your guide to naming babies," 2011). Informal consultations with members of various ethnic groups took place to further gauge popular in-group names. A total of 24 first and last name combinations representing an array of ethnic group memberships were generated and pretested with undergraduates ($N = 43$) through an online survey questionnaire (Appendix A). Participation was anonymous and voluntary, and students received nominal course credit upon completion.

Though many non-Latino and non-White names were included in the pretest questionnaire to provide a more inclusive, well-rounded appearance, the primary intention was to determine whether the Latino and White names were accurately perceived as representing someone Latino or White. The names "Juan Rodriguez" and "John Rodgers" were intentionally pretested because they had been used in another

study and received high rates of Latino and White-specific in-group identification respectively (Mastro et al., 2008). Overall, the in-group Latino[5] and out-group White names pretested and ultimately used in the final experiment include: Juan Rodriguez, John Rodgers, Carlos Sanchez, Charlie Smith, Miguel Reyes, and Matthew Richards.

Pretest 2 – Comedy Impressions Questionnaire

Undergraduate participants ($N = 68$) voluntarily took a paper-and-pencil questionnaire[6] administered in class for extra credit for Pretest 2. Participants were instructed to silence all electronic devices and refrain from talking to anyone while completing the questionnaire. Each participant was randomly assigned to complete a questionnaire packet including some combination of three of the total six comedy segments. The pretest questionnaire, entitled *Comedy Impression Pre-Test Questionnaire*, included many items related to media usage aside from the participants' enjoyment of comedy. The questionnaire title was intentionally broad so participants' attention would not be immediately drawn to the race-based nature of the comedy material. Participants were told in the written instructions that they were assessing comedy scripts under consideration for production by a local television channel. In addition, they were told that their input would help producers determine which joke segments would work best with a diverse audience. After viewing each of these segments, the participants indicated whether they found the segment enjoyable, original,

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[5] The following in-group Latino first names made the list of common Spanish first names for 2011: Carlos, Juan, and Miguel ("Top 100 Baby Names: Your guide to naming babies," 2011).

[6] Computer lab-based pretesting was not an option at the time the second pretest took place. As an attempt to control for environmental distractions or interactions while completing the questionnaire, the pretest took place during class time as determined by professors.

and offensive with item choices of "yes," "maybe," and "no." Since the objective was to first determine participants' perceptions of the race-based comedy segments chosen for potential use in the final experiment, the preceding simple response options were deemed appropriate to arrive at an initial sense of their receipt. Next, participants indicated on 7-point Likert scale items, ranging from 1) "Not at all" to 7) "Extremely," the extent to which they found the material humorous and stereotypical.

Stimulus materials for Pretest 2 were derived from Carlos Mencia's popular show on Comedy Central, *Mind of Mencia*, which regularly centered on "topics such as ethnic stereotypes, race relations, immigration, war and family" (Partners, 1995-2010). Mencia's role as a Latino in-group member and stand-up comedian who has enjoyed widespread popularity for his exclusive focus on controversial race-based comedy was a major influence in the current research project. Mencia's comedy is controversial because he blatantly pokes fun at hot-button political and social issues relevant to racial and ethnic groups in the U.S. There is nothing subtle about Mencia's race-based comedy performances as he often navigates the thin line between social commentary and overt racism and some would even say he performs in line with "the venerable tradition of controversial comics such as Richard Pryor and Sam Kennison" (Bergheim & Macias, 1994, p. 17). Mencia is both loved and hated by diverse audiences and he has been referred to as a Hispanic version of Dave Chappelle, "making an impact with Comedy Central's mostly young, mostly irreverent viewership, mixing bits of stand-up before a live audience with pre-taped skits and man-in-the-street routines" (Deggans, 2006). Mencia readily acknowledges that he invokes common race-based stereotypes in much

of his comedy: “All stereotypes are true to some degree. They come from observing cultural behavior. Doesn’t mean everyone fits the stereotype, but there’s some truth in them” ("There's something about Carlos," 2007).

After perusing several short video clips of Mencia’s comedy material on the Comedy Central-hosted jokes.com website, six comedy segments were chosen and transcribed for the second phase of pretesting. The six segments chosen for the pretest were labeled with the following identifiers for ease in analysis (though not labeled as such in the questionnaires participants completed): “Geographic Borders,” “Ethnic Hierarchies,” “Ethnic Sensitivity,” “California Law,” “On Edge,” and “U.S. Army” (see Appendix C for the complete scripts).

Initially, using the actual short videos in the pretest and then having participants respond to Likert scale items after each was the preferred approach. However, copyright issues arose with using Mencia’s actual videos embedded in a questionnaire, even for educational research purposes[7]. Another consideration was that since Mencia is a popular comedian, the potential for participants being familiar with and having opinions of him as a comedian was presumably great. To avoid preconceived notions about the comedian influencing participants’ responses, the comedy material was slightly modified

[7] Linking the comedy videos to the online questionnaire proved challenging in the pretest phase because of the amount of other catchy material and flashing links on Comedy Central’s jokes.com, where the videos are hosted; participants might have become distracted or side-tracked in their assessment of the comedy material had they been given full access to the website (it was not possible to simply extract the videos themselves). Youtube.com links would have been ideal because they could be embedded in the online questionnaire and would ensure the comedy segments were the only focus for participants without any website background “noise.” Uploading the comedy videos to youtube.com was not an option due to copyright issues, despite an appeal submitted explaining the educational purpose of the study. Lastly, the computer lab personnel in the Communication Department were consulted about other options, but were ultimately unable to assist in making the videos available through another program without copyright consent.

to mask Mencia's identity as best as possible in the transcribed scripts. This would not have been possible if the actual video skits were shown to participants.

Separate paragraphs and ample spacing helped the segments appear more television script-like and made differentiating between characters portrayed in the one-man duologue more apparent, a formatting strategy that has been implemented in prior similar studies (Mastro, 2003; Mastro et al., 2008). Nonverbal elements in each segment were accounted for in the scripts to compensate for the lack of hearing and seeing the comedian perform the material. In order to increase ecological validity, nonverbal cues were added to the comedy segment scripts, and nonverbal context was added with all capital words in brackets. For example, Mencia often imitates poor English-speakers with heavy accents, so these verbal imitations were accounted for with words prefacing the statements made, such as "[IMITATING MEXICAN ACCENT]" or "[EXAGERRATED MEXICAN ACCENT]". Other nonverbal mannerisms were included in a similar style in the scripts, such as "[GASPS, PUTS HAND OVER HIS MOUTH]" and "[RAISING HIS HAND, SMIRKING]" (see Appendix B).

Pretest 3 – Enjoyment of Comedy Questionnaire

In the third and final pretest study, undergraduate participants ($N = 51$) signed up to attend a computer lab-based questionnaire session outside of class time; they received nominal class credit upon completion. All students were instructed to wear headphones available at each computer station to filter out noise in the room, and participants were seated in every other computer. The pretest included many items related to media usage aside from the participants' enjoyment of comedy, and the study was given the title

Enjoyment of Comedy. As with Pretest 2, the title was intentionally broad so participants' attention would not immediately be drawn to the race-based nature of the comedy material. Participants were told in the online instructions that they were assessing comedy scripts under consideration for production by a local television channel. In addition, they were told that their input would help producers determine which joke segments would be most appealing to a diverse audience.

Though not labeled as such in the actual questionnaire, the three segments included in the pretest include the following: "Ethnic Hierarchies," "California Law," and "U.S. Army" (see Appendix D). Each segment was chosen for further pretesting based on the results from Pretest 2. The "Ethnic Hierarchies" segment pointed out hierarchal acculturation and class-based differences within Latino subgroups, and was considered to be an obvious targeting of Latino heterogeneity that in-group members might readily recognize. The second segment, "California Law," was chosen because it discussed controversial legislation proposing the deportation of all illegal Mexicans residing in the U.S. by way of building a wall to keep them from coming back into the country. This segment targets a specific acculturation level of Latinos in the U.S.: recent (mostly presumed illegal) immigrants from Mexico. The third segment, "U.S. Army," was chosen due to its more "equal opportunity" racial humor basis. In this segment, Whites, African Americans, Latinos, Asians, and Middle Easterners are depicted on the same team, fighting as Americans alongside one another in a war against a foreign enemy. Despite the fact that the segment included a theme of camaraderie based on patriotic values, race-based stereotypes for each group were evident.

The objective of Pretest 3 was to further determine whether the three chosen comedy segments were considered humorous, stereotypical, and offensive and to what extent the participants felt this was so. Another intention was to ensure that the "U.S. Army" segment was still seen as a more neutral, "equal opportunity" race-based comedy segment compared with the other two. Pretest 3 was conducted with undergraduates to determine how the comedy segments were perceived and to what extent participants found the material enjoyable, original, and offensive (response choices include: "yes," "no," and "maybe"). Participants first completed a section related to their media use habits and genres of programming they enjoy watching. Then, participants completed a comedy script impression section, which included the three comedy segments followed by humor, stereotypicality, and offensiveness 7-point Likert scale items ranging from 1) "Not at all" to 7) "Extremely," as in Pretest 2 (Appendix B).

Part 2: Experimental Study

Overview

A total of 326 undergraduate students (N = 150 self-identified Latinos) participated in the final experimental study. All participants were randomly assigned to complete one of the four experimental conditions: WW = White/White, LL = Latino/Latino, WL = White/Latino, and LW = Latino/White. Professors were given a stack of questionnaires to distribute to their students for completion during class time. They were handed out in no particular order and the questionnaire conditions were not distinguishable to the professors or participants. A variety of each condition packet was given to professors.

The questionnaire was comprised of the following four sections: “Media Use,” “Comedy Script Impression Form,” “Judicial Review Evaluation Form,” and “Demographics.”

First, participants completed a “Media Use” section including items on the preferred types of media, frequency of use, and genre preferences. Then, participants completed the “Comedy Script Impression Form,” which contained the three comedy segments (“California Law”, “Ethnic Hierarchies,” and “U.S. Army”) with 7-point Likert scale response items after each, including a section of free-response items for participants’ thoughts about each segment. The comedy segments were prefaced with a biographical sketch about the comedian (a short five sentences), including the racial identification manipulation indicating the comedian’s race. The comedian was portrayed as either Latino (“Juan Rodriguez”) or White (“John Rodgers”), depending on the questionnaire packet participants received (see Table 1 for all experimental conditions and cell sizes). After each comedy segment, participants responded to items measuring perceptions of the comedian, perceived humor, perceived stereotypicality, and perceived media enjoyment.

In the third section of the study, participants completed a “Judicial Review Evaluation Form” including scenarios involving two different students from another university; one student (either “Carlos” or “Charlie”) was being accused of selling drugs in his apartment complex and the second student (either “Miguel” or “Matthew”) was accused of assaulting his roommate. Both scenarios included a “Background About” the alleged offender section followed by a “Details About the Case” section. The two scenarios, drug dealing and assault, were chosen because they invoke criminality

stereotypes common amongst Latino characters in media portrayals (Mastro, 2009; Mastro et al., 2008) and have been used in other studies assessing real-world judgments on target groups after exposure to race-based comedy material (Bodenhausen, 1990; Ford, 1997). The in-group (Latino) and out-group (White) names of each alleged offender serve as the second racial in-group identification manipulation of the study. Participants were asked to evaluate each case based on the facts provided and how likely they believe the accusations are correct. Each scenario included other items integrated with the guilt measures such as recall items about the alleged offender and the cases but of particular importance was the 7-point Likert-type guilt scale.

Finally, participants completed their basic demographic information in the fourth section of the questionnaire, including items such as age, ethnicity, gender, and classification. The variable of particular interest in this section was the racial identification of each participant, which was measured with a total of seven 7-point Likert scale items. The racial identity measures were mixed in this section with other personality and identity items in order to mask the purpose of the study.

Experimental Design

The main objective of separating the comedy segments from the judicial review section was to gauge the role of priming racial stereotypes with comedy and assessing the subsequent impact of these primed stereotypes on participants' guilt ratings when faced with real-world judicial scenarios.

The current study is a factorial experiment 2 (Race of comedian: Juan Rodriguez or John Rodgers) X 2 (Race of judicial suspect: Carlos Sanchez/Charlie Smith or Miguel/Matthew) X 2 (Participants' high or low Latino racial identity) design. The experimental design and all possible conditions are illustrated in Table 1. The dependent variables relevant to the comedy segments were perceived enjoyment of comedy segments, perceived humor of comedy segments, perceived stereotypicality of comedy segments, and perceptions of the comedian; the dependent variable in the judicial review section was guilt for the judicial suspects.

Table 1 Experimental Design

		COMEDIAN'S RACE Latino	**COMEDIAN'S RACE** White
HIGH RACIAL IDENTIFICATION	**ALLEGED OFFENDER'S RACE** Latino	*Condition 1(LL)* Comedian Juan + Alleged Offenders Carlos & Miguel (*N* = 24)	*Condition 3(CL)* Comedian John + Alleged Offenders Carlos & Matthew (*N* = 17)
	ALLEGED OFFENDER'S RACE White	*Condition 2 (LC)* Comedian Juan + Alleged Offenders Charlie & Matthew (*N* = 18)	*Condition 4 (CC)* Comedian John + Alleged Offenders Charlie & Matthew (*N* = 18)
LOW RACIAL IDENTIFICATION	**ALLEGED OFFENDER'S RACE** Latino	*Condition 5 (LL)* Comedian Juan + Alleged Offenders Carlos & Miguel (*N* = 10)	*Condition 7(CL)* Comedian John + Alleged Offenders Carlos & Matthew (*N* = 19)
	ALLEGED OFFENDER'S RACE White	*Condition 6 (LC)* Comedian Juan + Alleged Offenders Charlie & Matthew (*N* = 23)	*Condition 8 (CC)* Comedian John + Alleged Offenders Charlie & Matthew (*N* = 21)

Participants

One of the major shortcomings of prior research on the effects of racial stereotypes on audiences has been an almost exclusive focus on White American participants without including the perspectives of viewers from other racial and ethnic groups (Dixon & Azocar, 2007; Mastro et al., 2008). Since the perspectives of Latinos are of particular interest in the current study, sampling in a racially and ethnically diverse university setting was a strategic decision. Only the self-identified Latino participants'

questionnaire packets were included in the final analysis (N = 150) to explore potential in-group effects[8]. The majority of the Latino/a participants were males (N = 95; 63.3 %) and majority of participants indicated ages between 18 and 30 years old (N = 133; 82.6 %). A total of 57.3 % (N = 86) of participants indicated upperclassmen status in their college careers at the time of their participation (juniors, 26 %; seniors, 31.3 %). Amongst the Latino undergraduate subsample, there was a nearly even split between high (N = 73; 48.7 %) and low (N = 77; 51.3 %) racial identifiers. Participants reported their enjoyment of various types of television programming. Importantly, all of the participants (N = 150) reported having at least one television set in their home, with most having two to three total. Nearly all participants (N = 138) reported having one to four televisions with cable programming available. Most participants (N = 147) indicated high rates of enjoyment for comedy programming (M = 4.52, SE = .715), movies/mini-series (N = 148; M = 4.26, SE = .794), and music television (N = 144; M = 4.03, SE = .963).

Independent Variable: Racial Identification Level. The independent variable for participants' racial identification was based on similar scales used by Hogg (1992) and Mastro et al. (2005). The seven-item measure included the following questions: "How closely knit are you with others of your race or ethnicity?" "How strong a sense of belonging do you have with your race or ethnicity?" "How much do you identify with other members of your race or ethnicity?" "How similar do you feel to your race or ethnicity as a whole in terms of general attitudes and beliefs?" "How included do you

[8] All final experimental results and analyses refer to only the Latino participants with distinctions made between the high and the low racial identifiers.

feel by others of your race or ethnicity?" "How strong are your ties to other members of your race or ethnicity?" and "How important is your racial identification to your self-concept?" Response options on these 7-point Likert-type items ranged from 1) "Not at all" to 7) "Extremely." Upon analysis of the mean distribution between high and low racial identifiers, a median split was implemented to distinguish between high ($M > 5.0$ ratings on the racial identification scale) and low ($M < 5.0$ ratings on the racial identification scale) Latino identifiers. The variable was then recoded to reflect this distinction before final data analysis. The distribution of high and low racial identifiers in each condition is illustrated in Table 1.

Procedure

Undergraduate students from communication, marketing, and English classes at a large southern public university were randomly assigned to one of the four experimental conditions, completed the questionnaire, and received nominal class credit. Professors who agreed to have their students participate in the study for extra class credit were given a hard copy stack of questionnaires including some of all of the four conditions; professors and participants were not told nor were they aware of the ascertainable differences between the four questionnaire packet versions. Therefore, professors simply distributed the questionnaires and ensured each participant completed one and returned it without identifying information on it. Professors[9] were given a short script to follow when distributing the questionnaire to their students; an important logistical point gleaned from the comedy segment pretests (Pretests 2 and 3) was to include a line in the

[9] The majority of the professors who administered the study were White; there were only two Latino professors total whose students participated in the final experiment.

short script reiterating that the study is the work of a "faceless" researcher, not the professor disseminating the questionnaire to his or her students. Since the objective was to obtain a sufficient number of Latino participants, it was necessary to recruit from multiple classes, upon professor agreement to give class credit for his or her students' participation. Doors were closed and participants were asked to silence cell phones and laptops to avoid any interruptions. Participants were instructed not to talk to one another while completing the paper-and-pencil questionnaire[10] and completed it in class at the professor's discretion of which day and time worked the best with the class schedule. Most participants took about 20 minutes to complete it, but were given anywhere between 30 and 45 minutes to do so.

Students were told they were participating in two ostensibly unrelated studies: 1) an "Enjoyment of Comedy Shows" study and 2) a "Judicial Review" study. Participants were asked to evaluate the comedy material based on their perceptions of how funny they found each segment and whether it should be considered for upcoming television programming. They were asked to evaluate each judicial review scenario based on the case details provided.

A note about the comedy content being potentially controversial or offensive was added to the page before the first comedy segment. This note was placed on the consent form and the instructions script given to professors when giving students the questionnaire (see Appendix E). Also in the written instructions, participants were assured their responses were completely anonymous and voluntary, and they signed a

[10] Lab-based questionnaire completion was not an option at the time of data collection.

separate roster upon completion of the questionnaire to receive class credit. The completed questionnaires and consent forms were collected in two separate piles, and professors returned them via campus mailbox.

An alternative extra credit assignment was available so that those participants who did not feel comfortable with the race-based comedy could still earn extra class credit. The alternative assignment consisted of a communication journal article provided for participants to read and then write a one-page reflection on the study's findings. These one-page reflection papers were to be turned in directly to professors to apply class credit.

Stimulus Materials

The first study included three different race-based comedy segments (derived from Mencia's popular Comedy Central television show, *Mind of Mencia*). The comedian's race was manipulated with an ethnic-specific name to represent a Latino in-group member ("Juan Rodriguez") or a White out-group member ("John Rodgers"). As in the comedy segments pretests (Pretests 2 and 3), students were told the comedy segments were under consideration for inclusion in upcoming comedy television programming and geared at a diverse audience; the type-written script formats were developed based on Mastro et al.'s (2008).

After the comedy segments portion, participants read written instructions transitioning into the judicial review portion, which consisted of two scenarios involving alleged student offenders at another university. The two scenarios were culled from Ford's (1997) judicial review vignettes employing African American (Tyrone) and

White-specific (Todd) names for the alleged offenders respectively to invoke criminality stereotypes. Similarly, the current study used pretested race-specific male names that were Latino (Carlos or Miguel) or White (Charlie or Matthew) to manipulate the alleged offender's race in both judicial cases. The scenarios Ford (1997) used played on the common African American stereotypes of criminality, more specifically, with alleged student offenders involved in drug dealing and assault situations. These two criminality scenarios were originally developed and used in an earlier study (Bodenhausen, 1990), which Ford (1997) then adapted. These scenarios were deemed fitting for the current study as well, given that criminality is often a pervasive stereotype associated with Latinos as well as African Americans (Mastro, 2009).

Similar to Ford's (1997) study design, the objective of the judicial review in the present project was to gauge whether stereotypical portrayals in the comedy skits portion would persist in the short-term and prime subsequent judgments of the judicial suspects taking participants' racial in-group or out-group identification into consideration. Importantly, the judicial review vignettes were "constructed so that there was no conclusive proof of guilt but only some circumstantial evidence suggesting guilt" (Ford, 1997, p. 269). I now turn to an explanation of key variables associated with each study portion.

Dependent Measures

The dependent measures for this study are as follows: perceived enjoyment of comedy segments, perceived humor of comedy segments, perceived stereotypicality of comedy segments, perceptions of the comedian, and guilt ratings. The assessments for

the following variables are relevant only to the comedy portion of the study: perceived enjoyment of comedy segments, perceived humor of comedy segments, perceived stereotypicality of comedy segments, and perceptions of the comedian. The humor and stereotypicality measures were presented after each comedy segment (participants completed these items a total of three times). The perceived enjoyment and perception of the comedian measures were presented only once in the questionnaire after the last of the three comedy segments and before the instructions page for the judicial review portion.

Humor and stereotypicality were measured to determine whether participants found the jokes told by the comedian funny and whether they were also seen as depicting specific racial or ethnic groups in stereotypical ways. The perception of comedian measures intended to decipher whether participants found the comedian favorable overall, and the media enjoyment items were directed at participants' overall enjoyment of the comedy material. Comedian perception and media enjoyment were summative evaluation measures of the comedy scripts taken together and impressions of the comedian based on the type of comedy material that was presented.

Perceived Enjoyment of Comedy Segments Scale. The media enjoyment scale was derived from two separate studies by Raney (2003) and Raney and Bryant (2002) in which media enjoyment was tested in the context of participants' crime drama viewing. Media enjoyment was measured using six items on a 7-point Likert scale including questions such as: "How much did you enjoy the comedic material?" "How much would you like to see the entire comedic material?" "How much did you enjoy the subject matter of the comedic material?" "How good was the comedic material?" "How exciting

was the comedic material?" and "How much did you like the acting in the comedic material?" Response items ranged from 1) "Not at all" to 7) "Extremely." The preceding items were averaged to create an overall media enjoyment scale. Participants completed these items after they had read and responded to all three comedy segments.

In data preparation, the last item ("How much did you like the acting in the comedic material?") was deemed irrelevant to the overall scale. Since participants read the comedy material, they did not actually see or experience the comedian's acting; therefore, it was logical that this particular item did not fit well with the other items in the scale. The item related to acting was ultimately dropped resulting in a five-item measure with a Cronbach's alpha of .975 (M = 3.57, SD = 1.82) (Raney, 2003; Raney & Bryant, 2002).

Perceived Humor of Comedy Segments Scale. Humor was measured using Ford's (1997) three items on a 7-point Likert scale including the following questions: "How funny were the jokes presented by the comedian you just read?" "How witty were the jokes presented in the comedy script?" "How creative were the jokes presented in the comedy script?" Response items ranged from 1) "Not at all" to 7) "Extremely" and all three items were averaged to create an overall humor rating. Participants completed these items after each of the three comedy segments.

Perceived Stereotypicality of Comedy Segments Scale. Stereotype ratings of the comedy material were measured with Ford's (1997) two items on a 7-point Likert scale, including the following questions: "To what extent did the jokes presented (implicitly or explicitly) depict ethnic groups in a demeaning or negative way?" and "How offensive

were the jokes presented in the comedy script?" A third item was included to measure overall offensiveness: "How offensive were the jokes presented in the comedy script?" Response items ranged from 1) "Not at all" to 7) "Extremely." The preceding items were averaged to create an overall stereotypicality rating. Participants completed these items after each of the three comedy segments.

Perception of Comedian Scale. Comedian perception was measured with three items extrapolated from Raney's (2002) study employing this existing scale. These items were rated on a 7-point Likert scale: "This comedian is interesting," "This comedian is funny," and "How likeable did you find the comedian?" Response items ranged from 1) "Not at all" to 7) "Extremely"; these items were averaged to create an overall comedian perception rating. Participants completed these items only after they had read and responded to all three comedy segments.

Guilt Scale. Guilt was measured with Ford's (1997) three items on a 7-point Likert scale. The items included were: "How strong is the case against Carlos Sanchez (or Charlie Smith)?" "In your personal opinion, how likely is it that Carlos Sanchez (or Charlie Smith) is involved in selling drugs (or was the attacker)?" and "In your opinion, to what extent have the residents acted fairly or unfairly in their suspicion of Carlos Sanchez (or Charlie Smith)?" Response items ranged from 1) "Not at all" to 7) "Extremely." The guilt items were averaged to create an overall guilt rating. Participants completed these items after each of the two (drug dealing; assault) judicial review scenarios.

In data preparation, the third item on the scale related to fairness ("In your opinion, to what extent have the residents acted fairly or unfairly in their suspicion of Carlos Sanchez [or Charlie Smith]?") lowered the alpha level below the .70 reliability acceptance threshold (Cronbach's alpha .60). Therefore, the fairness item was dropped from the scale resulting in an alpha level that slightly exceeded the .70 threshold. The measurement was reliable with Cronbach's alpha .712 (M = 3.04, SD = 1.15).

Preliminary Analyses and Descriptive Data. In sum, all of the scales in the current study are pre-existing and have been used and refined in several prior studies (Bodenhausen, 1990; Ford, 1997; Hogg, 1992; Mastro et al., 2005; Raney, 2003; Raney & Bryant, 2002). All scales yielded Cronbach's alpha reliabilities comparable to those in the prior studies from which the scales were derived (Ford, 1997; Mastro et al., 2005; Raney, 2003; Raney & Bryant, 2002). The descriptive statistics for all variables, including reliability levels, are shown in Table 2.

Table 2 Descriptive Statistics for All Scales

Variable	Mean	SD	Cronbach's Alpha Reliability	Possible min./max.
Racial Identification	4.98	1.21	.91	1/7
Humor	3.54	1.24	.86	1/7
Stereotypes	4.93	1.24	.79	1/7
Perception of Comedian	3.71	1.84	.95	1/7
Media Enjoyment	3.57	1.82	.97	1/7
Guilt	3.04	1.15	.71	1/7

Open-ended Responses to Comedy Segments. The questionnaire also included several short answer response items throughout so that participants could comment on their thought process or simply react to the study. Examples of the open-ended responses include the following: "What are the reasons why this segment should be included in the script?" "What are the reasons why this segment should be removed from the script?" "What are the reasons this show would be successful?" "What are the reasons this show would be unsuccessful?" "Which segments did you find the most funny?" and "In the space below, please write at least one sentence regarding your reaction(s) to what you have just completed. Feel free to write anything you wish."

Open-ended Responses to Judicial Scenarios. Recall short answer response items were included after the first judicial review scenario. Examples of the short answer items included are: "List two extracurricular activities he (Charlie Smith or Carlos Sanchez) enjoys." "The student you just read about is approximately ____ years old." "What is the gender of the student you just read about?" and "What is the ethnicity of the student that you just read about?" One final comment box was included at the end of the questionnaire for any last thoughts students wanted to share: "Please provide any feedback regarding this survey. Any comments you might have about the content or the process are welcome at this time." Participants were then thanked for their time and asked to quietly turn their questionnaire in.

To sum up this chapter, three separate pretests were conducted before the experiment materials were finalized and data were collected. The final experiment includes three independent variables (participants' racial identification level, comedian's race, and alleged offender's race) and five dependent variables of interest (humor, stereotypicality, perceptions of comedian, media enjoyment, and guilt). I now turn to an explanation of the specific results for each pretest and the final experiment data in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This chapter has two parts: (1) results from the three pretests and (2) results from the final experiment. The first pretest helped determine which in-group (Latino) and out-group (White) name manipulations to use in both parts of the final study (comedy segments and judicial review). The second and third pretests were conducted to gauge participants' reactions to the race-based comedy segments and narrow to the final three to use in the experiment. Lastly, the final experiment quantitative results are presented.

Part 1: Pretest Results

Pretest 1 – Names and Ethnic Identity Questionnaire

The first pretest was conducted with undergraduates ($N = 43$) to select in-group (Latino) and out-group (White) ethnic-specific names for the final study. Pretest 1 helped determine which names to use for the priming manipulation in both sections (comedy segments; judicial review) of the questionnaire. The pretest yielded results as expected. All (100%) of the pretest participants judged Juan Rodriguez as a Latino-specific name and almost all participants rated Carlos Sanchez (95.3 %) and Miguel Reyes (97.7 %) as Latino-specific names. Similarly, the majority of participants perceived John Rodgers (90.7 %), Charlie Smith (83.7 %), and Matthew Richards (86 %) as White-specific names. Based on the pretest results, these names were used as the Latino in-group and White out-group manipulations for the final experiment in the comedy segments and judicial reviews respectively.

Pretest 2 – Comedy Impressions Questionnaire

The second pretest was conducted to solicit participants' ($N = 68$) quantitative ratings and short response feedback on the six race-based comedy segments chosen from Mencia's *Mind of Mencia* stand-up comedy material. Descriptive analyses (see Tables 3 and 4) were run on each of the six segments ("California Law," "Ethnic Hierarchies," "U.S. Army," "Ethnic Sensitivity," "On Edge," and "Geographic Borders") separately. The six segments were then compared with one another to determine the extent to which each segment's content targeted racial and ethnic groups with a focus on enjoyment, originality, offensiveness, humor, and stereotypicality ratings provided by participants. This pretest was conducted to determine which comedy segments to include in the next and final comedy segments pretest, and ultimately, the final experiment questionnaire.

Perceived Enjoyment, Originality, and Offensiveness of Comedy Segments. Upon analysis of the descriptive results, participants rated the "California Law" segment the highest on enjoyment ("yes" responses: 50.9%) out of all six segments, with "Ethnic Sensitivity" rated the second highest ("yes" responses: 40.0%). The least enjoyable segment was "Ethnic Hierarchies" ("no" responses: 44.2%), followed by "Geographic Borders" ("no" responses: 42.3%). The "U.S. Army" segment received the highest neutral responses for enjoyment ("maybe" responses: 37.5%). In terms of originality, participants rated "U.S. Army" the least original of all six segments ("no" responses: 56.3%), followed by "Geographic Borders" ("no" responses: 51.9%) and "California Law" ("no" responses: 50.9%). The "Ethnic Sensitivity" segment was rated the most

original (“yes” responses: 53.3%), followed by “Ethnic Hierarchies” (“yes” responses: 44.2%).

Interestingly, participants also found “Ethnic Hierarchies” the most offensive (“yes” responses: 55.8%), followed by the “California Law” segment (“yes” responses: 43.4%). There were some notably high percentages in the neutral (“maybe”) response category for offensiveness; 62.5% of participants felt the “U.S. Army” segment was potentially offensive, followed by the “On Edge” segment (“maybe” responses: 50.0%), and then “Ethnic Sensitivity” (“maybe” responses: 46.7%). The “Ethnic Hierarchies” segment was rated the most offensive (“yes” responses: 55.8%), followed by “California Law” (“yes” responses: 43.4%). Furthermore, the “Ethnic Sensitivity” segment was considered the least offensive (“no” responses: 40.0%) and the “U.S. Army” segment was rated the lowest by far (“no” responses: 6.3%) on offensiveness. Lastly, participants considered all of the comedy segments stereotypical.

Perceived Humor and Stereotypicality of Comedy Segments. Participants found the “On Edge” (M = 3.93, SD = 1.96) and “Ethnic Sensitivity” (M = 3.82, SD = 1.57) segments the most humorous. The “Border Commentators” segment was rated the lowest on humor (M = 3.25, SD = 1.81). Lastly, participants rated each of the comedy segments as highly stereotypical. The “U.S. Army” segment was seen as the most stereotypical (M = 6.10, SD = .924), followed by the “Ethnic Hierarchies” segment (M = 5.61, SD = 1.45), “On Edge” (M = 5.39, SD = 1.11) and “California Law” (M = 5.18, SD = 1.50). See Tables 3 and 4 for the complete results to Pretest 2.

Table 3 Pretest 2 Results: Enjoyable, Original, Offensive

Comedy Segment	**Enjoyable (%)**			**Original (%)**			**Offensive (%)**		
	Yes	Maybe	No	Yes	Maybe	No	Yes	Maybe	No
California Law[11]	50.9	18.9	30.2	26.4	22.6	50.9	43.4	30.2	26.4
Ethnic Hierarchies	38.5	17.3	44.2	44.2	25.0	30.8	55.8	28.8	15.4
U.S. Army	25.0	37.5	37.5	31.3	12.5	56.3	31.3	62.5	6.30
Ethnic Sensitivity	40.0	26.7	33.3	53.3	20.0	26.7	13.3	46.7	40.0
On Edge	37.5	25.0	37.5	37.5	31.3	31.3	25.0	50.0	25.0
Border Commentators	32.7	25.0	42.3	23.1	25.0	51.9	34.6	42.3	23.1

[11] Gray shading highlights the three comedy segments used in Pretest 3 and the final experiment.

Table 4 Pretest 2 Results: Humorous, Stereotypical

Comedy Segment	**Humorous**	**Stereotypical**
California Law	*M* = 3.69 *SD* = 1.71	*M* = 5.18 *SD* = 1.50
Ethnic Hierarchies	*M* = 3.79 *SD* = 1.82	*M* = 5.61 *SD* = 1.45
U.S. Army	*M* = 3.35 *SD* = 2.18	*M* = 6.10 *SD* = .924
Ethnic Sensitivity	*M* = 3.82 *SD* = 1.57	*M* = 3.77 *SD* = 1.63
On Edge	*M* = 3.93 *SD* = 1.96	*M* = 5.39 *SD* = 1.11
Border Commentators	*M* = 3.25 *SD* = 1.81	*M* = 4.62 *SD* = 1.68

In addition, a brief analysis of the qualitative short answer open-ended response items provided further insights on why each comedy segment should or should not be included in the comedy programming. I now highlight some of the exemplary comments made in these two open-ended items as further rationale for the three segments that were ultimately chosen for the third pretest. An interesting, noteworthy observation based on a side-by-side glance at the amount of comments made was that participants had much more to say about why the various comedy segments should *not* be included in the upcoming TV programming than why they *should* be included. First, I highlight reasons given on why the segments should be included. Then, the reasons participants stated the segments should not be included follow.

Open-ended Response Items. There were some participants who felt that the segments were meant to be jokes, so they should not be taken seriously and should be included. For example, one participant ("California Law") said, "Lighten up. It's a joke!" There was even evidence pointing to which audience segments need to have a better sense of humor. For example, one participant ("California Law") said, "Conservative people have no sense of humor," and another participant ("On Edge") said, "Some people are just sensitive." The following participant ("Geographical Borders") engaged in in-group/out-grouping with this statement: "Personally, it doesn't bother me, but others who are more conservative or uptight might not like it." In addition, one person said the only reason the "Geographical Borders" segment should be included is if the comedian is "desperate for a laugh in front of a bunch of drunk New Yorkers," since the focus of this segment is on the southern U.S. Some comments

indicated participants' enjoyment of racist comedy and a suggested direction for such material. For example, one participant stated ("Geographical Borders"), "No one cares about rednecks. Should've made more jokes on Middle Eastern people."

Three of the comedy segments in particular were considered relevant and worthy of inclusion because they played on hot topics in today's society. For example, one participant found the "California Law" segment important because "immigration is on everyone's mind right now" and another participant noted that "things like this exist in the world, and if we know about them, then we are at least not ignorant." Similar sentiments were revealed about the "Ethnic Hierarchies" segment as one participant wrote: "It's creative and most of it is true in the real world." Another participant made the following comment about the "U.S. Army" segment: "Things like this exist due to the current war in Iraq and Afghanistan and to ignore the fact is ignorance so it is at least good to see what is out there."

Furthermore, "Ethnic Hierarchies" and "U.S. Army" were seen as inclusive of more than one racial or ethnic group. For example, one participant wrote ("Ethnic Hierarchies"), "It includes a whole variety of ethnic backgrounds." For the "U.S. Army" segment, one participant noted, "It attacks all ethnicities so everyone (a great majority at least) can feel identified with it." The "Ethnic Hierarchies" segment was somewhat celebrated for showing depth within ethnic groups as opposed to the unidimensional, homogenous way they are usually portrayed. For example, as one participant pointed out, "It shows different views of race within a race."

Many participants used the words “original,” “funny,” and “true” to describe the “On Edge” and “Geographical Borders” segments. The “Ethnic Sensitivity” segment was considered ‘safe’ by one participant because it “does not necessarily call out anyone in particular.” Participants also alluded to some in-group and out-group audience and comedian dynamics as contingent reasons to include certain segments. For example, a participant said the following about the “Ethnic Hierarchies” segment: “If the comedian is Hispanic, I guess it’s okay.” Similarly, a participant commented that the “California Law” segment should be included: “If he [comedian] is Hispanic himself, he can get away with it, plus people joke about this topic all the time.” Conversely, if the audience is composed of all in-group (Latinos) members, then it could be included. For example, two participants responded to the “California Law” segment in this similar line of thinking: “If there’s a complete audience of Hispanics (if he is, too) [it could be included]” and “Although the joke is stereotypical, it’s funny and some Mexicans or people of Hispanic descent might find it funny.”

Some comments were made that provided insight on the nature of reading the comedy material. For example, one participant said the “Geographical Borders” segment should be included because it was enjoyable “to hear the Southern rural accent.” Another participant wrote, “It’s funny and it was hard for me to keep quiet in class.” The preceding two comments provided unexpected insight on how effective the nonverbal context was among this initial audience.

Now, I turn to the comments revealing reasons the various segments should *not* be included. There were some recurring themes about why participants felt the various

segments should be disregarded. More specifically, it seemed to depend on who the comedian's audience was and to which in-group the comedian belonged whether the material was considered funny, offensive, or worthy of inclusion. For example, one participant responded to the "Ethnic Hierarchies" segment, "If he's white, there's no way it should be aired," which is a direct judgment of acceptability depending on the comedian's racial identity. Another participant noted, "The person being stereotyped would be offended by it" ("Geographical Borders"). The preceding quote shows a sense of out-grouping, or "othering" as far as who is expected to become offended by the material. Other participants spoke more from an in-group stance. For example, in response to the "California Law" segment, one participant wrote, "This would most likely offend at least my whole family and that is already a lot of people." Additionally, one participant made a direct contrast in their reasoning ("Geographical Borders"):

> "It should maybe be removed if the viewing audience is of the ethnic group that he's making fun of and not a part of. He can basically poke fun at Hispanics if he is one, but rednecks or Middle Easterners may feel offended."

Other participants felt that the use of certain language (i.e. racial slurs like the 'N' word, "wetback," and "redneck") was offensive, but that race-based jokes could be funny without using these words. For example, one participant responded to the "Ethnic Hierarchies" segment and said, "This segment wasn't very funny and while it may be different [unique], the sketch contains far too many slurs and stereotypes." Another comment referencing the "Ethnic Hierarchies" segment was, "… just the use of the 'N' word alone was enough to offend an entire audience." Other participants were concerned about the perpetuation and normalization of ignorance and stereotypes. One participant

wrote, “If it’s on TV, it creates the norm of what people think and do.” Another participant reinforced this concern: “It could cause even more stereotypes within an ethnic group.”

Overall, participants identified “Ethnic Sensitivity” as a more neutral segment, more about being politically correct and less about race-based comedy. The “On Edge” segment was seen as mostly targeted at Middle Easterners and the “Geographical Borders” segment was seen as having an emphasis on Southerners (“redneck” culture). The “California Law” and “U.S. Army” segments were controversial, yet relevant because each touched upon current events of major concern to Americans today (i.e., immigration, international relations, and war). The “Ethnic Hierarchies” segment was perceived as a unique, new perspective on relations within an ethnic group, and it primarily targeted Latinos (and other groups with Spanish ancestry, such as Filipinos). Therefore, based on the qualitative and quantitative results of the pretest, the decision was made to include the following three segments in the next pretest: “California Law,” “Ethnic Hierarchies,” and “U.S. Army.”

Pretest 3 – Enjoyment of Comedy Questionnaire

Based on the preceding pretest, the final pretest questionnaire was conducted to determine participants’ reactions to the three race-based comedy segments chosen. Participants ($N = 51$) were told that the comedy segments they were evaluating in the questionnaire were under consideration for potential inclusion in upcoming television programming. They were asked to respond to items after reading each comedy segment on the questionnaire hosted online. The goal was to make further comparisons between

the three chosen comedy segments based on how stereotypical and race-based they were perceived by another group of participants.

Descriptive statistics (see Tables 5 and 6) were analyzed for each segment ("Ethnic Hierarchies," "California Law," and "U.S. Army") separately. The three segments were then compared with one another to determine whether and to what extent each segment's content targeted racial and ethnic groups with a focus on enjoyment, originality, offensiveness, humor, and stereotypicality. As in Pretest 2, the quantitative response items were followed by short open-ended response items for participants to elaborate on why they felt each segment should or should not be included in the comedy programming. The results from this particular pretest also informed the strategic sequential order of each segment in the final experiment.

Perceived Enjoyment, Originality, and Offensiveness of Comedy Segments. Participants rated the "Ethnic Hierarchies" comedy segment the least enjoyable ("no" responses: 47.6 %), "California Law" segment as potentially enjoyable ("maybe" responses: 50 %), and the "U.S. Army" segment with mixed attitudes; 41 % found this segment enjoyable while another 35.9 % did not find it enjoyable, and 23.1 % rated it as "maybe" enjoyable. When asked how original each segment was, "U.S. Army" was rated the highest ("yes" responses: 40.9%; "maybe" responses: 40.9%), and the "California Law" segment was judged the least original ("no" responses: 50 %). Participants did not rate any of the three segments noticeably high on originality.

Table 5 Pretest 3 Results: Enjoyable, Original, Offensive

Comedy Segment	**Enjoyable (%)**			**Original (%)**			**Offensive (%)**		
	Yes	Maybe	No	Yes	Maybe	No	Yes	Maybe	No
California Law	23.7	50.0	26.3	23.9	26.1	50.0	63.0	23.9	13.0
Ethnic Hierarchies	26.2	26.2	47.6	20.9	44.2	34.9	71.7	17.4	10.9
U.S. Army	41.0	23.1	35.9	40.9	40.9	18.2	26.1	37.0	37.0

Table 6 Pretest 3 Results: Humorous, Stereotypical

Comedy Segment	**Humorous**	**Stereotypical**
California Law	*M* = 3.15 *SD* = 1.60	*M* = 5.17 *SD* = 1.53
Ethnic Hierarchies	*M* = 3.09 *SD* = 1.69	*M* = 5.46 *SD* = 1.51
U.S. Army	*M* = 3.52 *SD* = 1.59	*M* = 4.85 *SD* = 1.31

The "Ethnic Hierarchies" segment yielded mixed perceptions on originality (20.9 % found it original, 44.2% found it "maybe" original, and 34.9 % rated it unoriginal). In terms of offensiveness, the majority of participants rated "Ethnic Hierarchies" ("yes" responses: 71.7%) and "California Law" ("yes" responses: 63%) as offensive. The "U.S. Army" segment had a more even distribution of offensiveness judgments with 26.1% of participants finding it offensive, 37 % finding it potentially offensive ("maybe" responses), and 37% rating it as not offensive.

Perceived Humor and Stereotypicality of Comedy Segments. Participants rated the "U.S. Army" segment the highest on humor ($M = 3.52$, $SD = 1.59$). The "Ethnic Hierarchies" segment was rated the highest on stereotypicality ($M = 5.46$, $SD = 1.51$) followed by "California Law" ($M = 5.17$, $SD = 1.53$) (see Table 3). The "U.S. Army" segment was rated the lowest on stereotypicality ($M = 4.85$, $SD = 1.31$).

Open-ended Response Items. As in Pretest 2, a brief qualitative analysis of the short answer open-ended response items provided further insights on how participants reacted to each comedy segment. More specifically, participants were given the opportunity to elaborate on why each segment should or should not be included in the comedy programming. Exemplary comments from these two open-ended items follow and are presented by comedy segment ("California Law," "U.S. Army," and "Ethnic Hierarchies").

"California Law." Participants described the "California Law" segment as worthy of inclusion because it is "funny," "simple," and "clever." This segment was described as a "funny depiction of someone's obvious racist remarks" because, often times, "racial

stereotypes are funny to people." As participants expressed in the first comedy segments pretest, this segment is important because it is a "true occurrence" about "U.S. concern for illegal immigration." Furthermore, it was seen as a "crude way of depicting reality among our society," and it "makes a statement on how absurd the law in California is," which is perhaps "a great way to ease tension from both sides" of the issue. Conversely, participants also noted many reasons the "California Law" segment should not be included in the final script. There was a strong sense that this segment particularly marginalizes Latinos. As one participant stated, "This is so degrading towards Hispanics." Another participant echoed these sentiments: "It not only attacks the morale of American citizens in wanting to build the wall, but it also makes Hispanics look incompetent and only able to do hard labor." An in-grouping rationale arose for who could be able to tell this type of joke and perhaps lessen its overall offensiveness:

> This segment would be funny if it didn't use such offensive language. Maybe if the joke were coming from a Mexican American talking about what others might do to them… I think the term "wetback" caused offense to me and then turned me off to the rest of the segment.

There was also a social concern due to this marginalization. For example, one participant noted, "In a society that seems to strive to be so incredibly politically correct, it has no place in the media." A concern for who the viewing audience might be arose as well: "I feel that it may create a negative stereotype of Hispanics for those who have little to no exposure to Hispanics."

"U.S. Army." Similar to the "California Law" segment, participants found the "U.S. Army" segment notable because it included many diverse groups alongside one another instead of just focusing race-based comedy on one particular racial or ethnic group. As

one participant put it, “Stereotypes were used of Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians; no one group was being singled out as a target.” Another participant wrote, “It is politically smart, criticizing and celebrating American diversity.” There were also comments referring to how this segment could lend to serious discussion and perhaps a newfound understanding of current events and, ultimately, contribute to patriotism and tolerance. For example, one participant noted, “It can help American viewers make light about the War on Terror, instead of being afraid of what’s going on overseas.” Another participant relayed a similar theme: “This segment is pretty funny because it shows patriotism and finding a common ground for all the ethnic groups portrayed in the skit. They are all in our great nation's military doing the same job, protecting us.” Many participants described the segment as “funny,” “original,” and “controversial.” On the other hand, many participants cited reasons this segment should not be included. Several participants felt that this segment perpetuates stereotypes, looks down upon other countries, and even mocks and disrespects the U.S. army. One participant stated, “It is talking about our army which can offend many people.” Adding to this notion, another participant wrote, “[It is a] mockery to war and our troops.” Other important comments include the idea that there is “no need to put down other countries,” and “it is promoting stereotypes and prejudices that ultimately lead to hate.”

“Ethnic Hierarchies.” The “Ethnic Hierarchies” segment was interpreted as having an obvious emphasis on a particular group of Latinos, recently migrated Mexican day laborers, but also including other ethnic groups. One participant stated, “It pokes fun at all kinds of cultures, not in a demeaning way.” For example, while some participants

found this segment to be a "funny depiction on real life situations," others pointed out the seriousness. One participant noted, "It shows how life can be difficult for Mexican workers." Additionally, targeting Mexican workers in the U.S. was seen as ironic because the joke segment made a political and social point as well. One participant wrote, "It is reminding people who want to kick out illegal immigrants that the Mexicans are hard working while he's [the comedian] making fun of Mexicans themselves!" There were several parts of the "Ethnic Hierarchies" segment that participants found distasteful. This segment was considered stereotypical, "reinforcing some of the stereotypes that people are trying to get rid of," and also "depicting ethnic groups in a negative and demeaning way, which crosses the unspoken acceptable joke line." One participant perceived the segment to be "promoting White superiority" and this was considered sufficient grounds for eliminating the segment. Interestingly, some participants found this segment offensive for reasons unrelated to the race-basis of the jokes and one participant even suggested a different approach to the segment:

> I don't think it's funny to make fun of people with mental issues. Instead, you could use different classes of White people such as really snotty and lower class Whites who live in trailers and "marry their sisters," but that still might be offensive to some.

Based on the preceding pretest results, the final experiment questionnaires included three comedy segments in the following order: "Ethnic Hierarchies," "U.S. Army," and "California Law." Due, in part, to careful consideration of the participants' reactions to each segment, "Ethnic Hierarchies" and "California Law" were seen as more so targeting Latinos in a stereotypical, negative way. Therefore, placing the "U.S. Army" segment in between these two segments was a strategic decision to somewhat break up

the order. Since participants found the "U.S. Army" segment less offensive, more enjoyable, and somewhat original, it was deemed a good balance for the other two Latino-targeting comedy segments, especially since it was still considered race-based comedy but with fun poked at multiple racial groups alongside one another. Once these separate pretests were completed, the ethnic-specific names and three comedy segments were implemented into the final experiment questionnaire.

Part 2: Experimental Study Results

A total of five dependent measures were included in the final experimental study including perceived media enjoyment of comedy segments, perceived humor, perceived stereotypicality, perceptions of the comedian, and guilt. The study's sample consisted of a total of 150 self-identified Latino undergraduates randomly assigned to one of four conditions (WW = White/White, LL = Latino/Latino, WL = White/Latino, and LW = Latino/White); a variety of question packets were randomly mixed together and then distributed to participants by professors. Participants completed a paper-and-pencil questionnaire consisting of four distinct parts: media use, comedy script impression form, judicial review evaluation form, and demographic information. Two separate analyses of variance tests were conducted in SPSS for the comedy segments and the judicial review portion of the study respectively. The results of these analyses are presented below.

Comedy Segments Results

A 2 (Racial Identification Level: high Latino identifiers vs. low Latino identifiers) X 2 (Comedian's Race: Latino or White) factorial multivariate analysis of variance

(MANOVA) was conducted on the four dependent measures: perceived enjoyment of comedy segments, perceived humor of comedy segments, perceived stereotypicality of comedy segments, and perceptions of the comedian. Two main effects were evident in this analysis and are explained within the context of Hypotheses 1 and 2 below. The open-ended response items (as in the comedy segments' pretests) were included after each of the comedy segments in the final experiment questionnaire.

Hypothesis 1. The first hypothesis predicted that high racial identifiers would differ from low racial identifiers in their perceived enjoyment of comedy segments, perceived humor of comedy segments, perceived stereotypicality of comedy segments, and perceptions of the comedian. The MANOVA revealed a statistically significant main effect for the participants' racial identification level, Wilks' $\Lambda = .917$, $F\,(1, 145) = 10.35$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .067$ on the dependent variable stereotypicality. Consistent with the first hypothesis, Figure 2 illustrates that the high Latino racial identifiers rated the comedy segments as significantly higher on stereotypicality ($M = 5.25$, $SD = .139$) than the low Latino racial identifiers ($M = 4.86$, $SD = .144$). This finding partially supports the first hypothesis, as the dependent measures for comedian perception and media enjoyment were not significant. Interestingly, humor approached significance ($p = .07$), suggesting that the low Latino racial identifiers rated the comedy segments as slightly more humorous ($M = 3.72$, $SD = .157$) than their high Latino racial identifier counterparts ($M = 3.34$, $SD = .152$). No other statistically significant main effects or interaction effects were observed.

Hypothesis 2. The second hypothesis stated that participants who perceived the

comedian as an in-group (Latino) member would judge the race-based comedy as more enjoyable than that of a perceived out-group (non-Latino) member. This hypothesis was supported. The MANOVA revealed a main effect for the comedian's race, Wilks' Λ = .967, F (1, 145) = 4.003, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .027$ on participants' enjoyment ratings. Consistent with the first hypothesis, Figure 3 illustrates that participants expressed slightly greater enjoyment of the comedy when the comedian was perceived as Latino (M = 3.88, SD = .210) rather than as White (M = 3.28, SD = .210). No other statistically significant main effects or interactions were observed for the MANOVA pertaining to the comedy segments portion of the study.

Similar to the first hypothesis, humor approached significance (p = .06) when considering the comedian's race. The finding suggests that participants rated the comedy segments as more humorous when the comedian was Latino (M = 3.75, SD = .155) than when he was White (M = 3.33, SD = .155). The variable humor deserves closer attention for future studies measuring it alongside stereotypicality in the current context.

Hypothesis 3. The third hypothesis was not supported. No significant interaction effect occurred between the participants' racial identification level and the comedian's race on participants' evaluations of the following independent variables: perceptions of the comedian, humor, stereotypicality, and enjoyment.

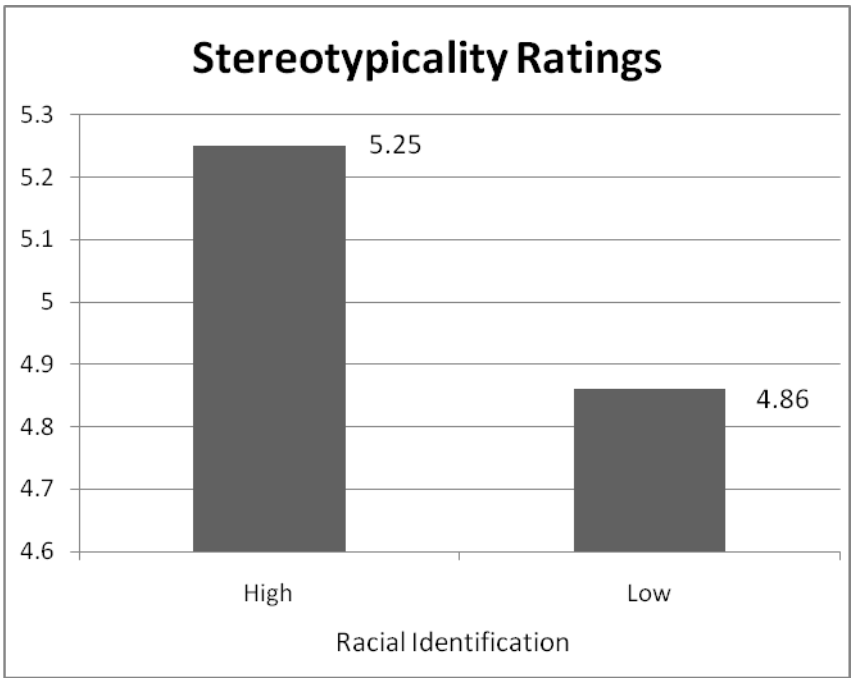

Figure 2 Main effect of participants' racial identification on stereotypicality ratings of the comedy segments[12]

[12] Items measured on a Likert-scale ranging from 1("Not at all") to 7 ("Extremely").

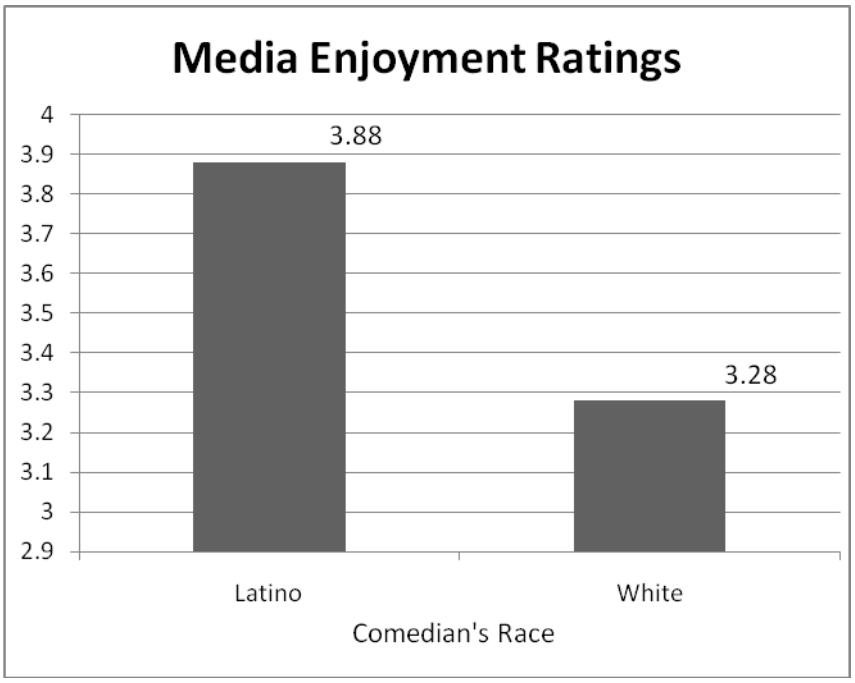

Figure 3 Main effect of comedian's race on media enjoyment ratings of the comedy segments[13]

[13] Items measured on a Likert-scale ranging from 1("Not at all") to 7 ("Extremely").

Judicial Review Results

A 2 (Racial Identification Level: high Latino identifiers vs. low Latino identifiers) X 2 (Alleged Offender's Race: Latino or White) between-subjects factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on the dependent measure guilt ratings relevant to the judicial review portion of the study. An interaction effect was evident in this analysis. The significant finding is now explained in relation to Hypothesis 4 below.

Hypothesis 4. The fourth hypothesis predicted a three-way interaction effect to occur. More specifically, I anticipated that the participants' racial identification level (high vs. low) and the comedian's race would influence the interaction between the judicial suspect's perceived race (Latino or White) in judgments of guilt in the alleged offenses depicted in the judicial review scenarios. This hypothesis was partially supported; a three-way interaction was not significant, but a two-way interaction emerged for the participants' racial identification level and the alleged offender's race, F (1, 139) = 8.88, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .060$ on guilt ratings of the alleged offender such that the high Latino racial identifiers rated the White offender higher on guilt ($M = 3.63$, $SD = .189$) than they rated the Latino offender ($M = 2.86$, $SD = .177$) (see Figure 4). The implications of these findings are discussed in the next chapter.

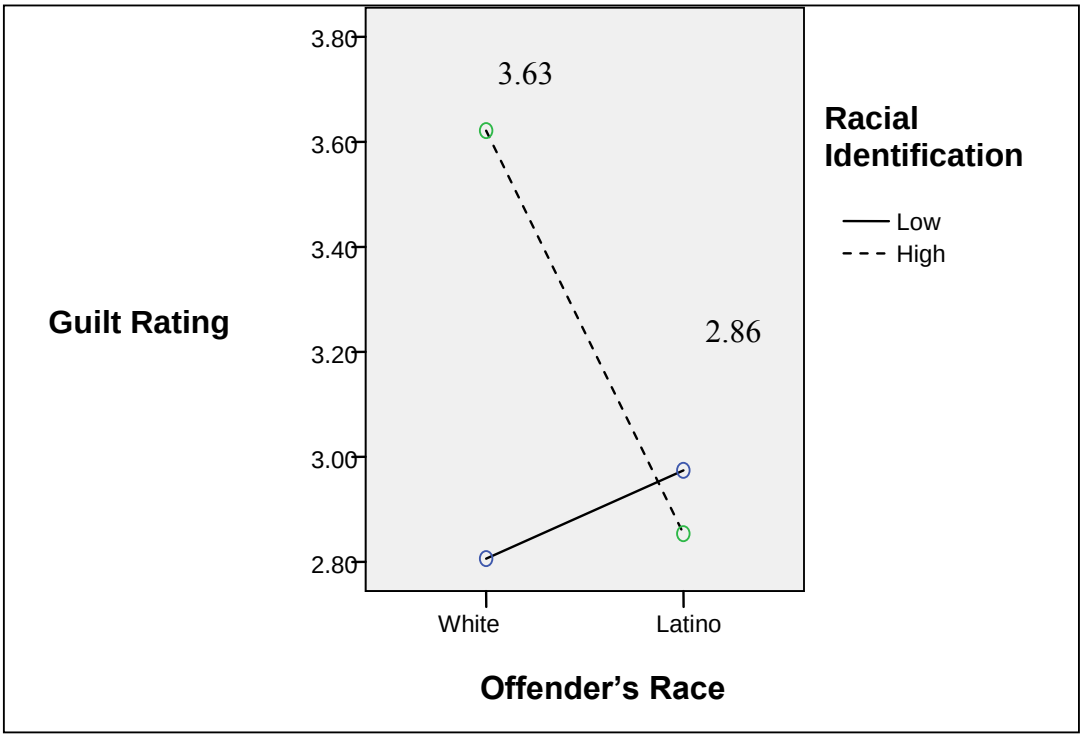

Figure 4 Interaction effect: Participants' racial identification X offender's race X guilt rating

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary of Findings and Interpretation of Results

The overall purpose of this research project was to explore how race-based comedy performed by an in-group (Latino) or out-group (White) comedian primes subsequent real-world judgments for Latino participants when faced with in-group (Latino) and out-group (White) alleged offenders in judicial review scenarios. The findings related to each of the significant hypotheses are summarized and interpreted. Then, the theoretical and practical implications as well as the limitations and directions for future research are discussed.

Comedy Segments: Participants' Racial Identity and Stereotypicality

The first hypothesis was partially supported, as a significant main effect emerged for stereotypicality but not the other dependent variables. The higher Latino in-group identifiers[14] rated the race-based comedy segments higher on stereotypicality than the lower Latino identifiers. Upon evaluating the race-based comedy segments, the higher Latino identifiers felt a greater in-group threat, consistent with prior research suggesting the strength (high vs. low) of participants' racial identification impacts responses to media content that showcases similar and dissimilar groups (Mastro et al., 2008).

[14] As previously noted, a distinction was made between high and low Latino racial identifier participants. Overall in-group racial identity was measured with a 6-item scale in the questionnaire. A median split was implemented to determine high versus low Latino identifiers.

Latinos are quite diverse, "made up both of recently arrived newcomers and of old-timers with deeper roots in American soil than any other ethnic group except for the indigenous peoples of the continent" (Rumbaut, 2009, p. 17). Acculturation level illuminates the diversity and many acknowledge Latinos are among the most notable ethnic groups in the U.S. not eagerly or easily assimilated across multiple generations (Cabassa, 2003; Casares, 2010; Cobas et al., 2009). Acculturation best describes the process, defined as a "dynamic and situationally-dependent" construct (Gonzalez, Haan, & Hinton, 2001, p. 953) describing the balance between adopting the new country's native customs (high acculturation) and adhering to the country of origin's customs (low acculturation).[15] Determining the point of assimilation[16] or acculturation is a subjective process, with a sense of ethnic identity central to acculturation (Gonzalez, 2000; Verkuyten, 2005). Some define assimilation with language fluency whereas others define it as a lack of identification with one's non-dominant ethnic culture (Verkuyten, 2010). One's acculturation level may directly impact audience responses to stereotypical Latino portrayals, as comparative identification is related closely to intergroup differentiation or similarity (Ros et al., 2000).

The portrayals of the Latinos and other racial and ethnic groups in the comedy are unidimensional, and it appears the high identifiers' perceived them as such and felt motivated to preserve a positive in-group status as Latinos collectively (Hogg, 1992;

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[15] This construct is typically conceptualized on a continuum ranging among low, bicultural, and high.

[16] Assimilation is distinct from acculturation; the "melting pot" metaphor details the process of adopting another culture so fully that an individual or group abandons their native culture completely. Acculturation better explains the cultural negotiation process many Latinos (and other non-White racial groups) undergo within the U.S. because the objective is often not to lose one's culture to gain inclusion in the dominant culture; inclusion is negotiated in other ways that permit more of a hybrid identity that accommodates elements of two or more cultures.

Mastro, 2003). The portrayals failed to depict the heterogeneity within Latinos, and even within subgroups such as Mexican and Mexican American (Arellano, 2007; Cornell & Hartmann, 2007). In-group members often recognize their own within-group diversity and are more likely to perceive out-groups as less heterogeneous (Oakes et al., 1994), and this phenomenon plays out among diverse in-group members lumped into the all-encompassing terms, "Latino" or "Hispanic." More specifically, "individuals are psychologically connected to social structures through their self-definitions as members of various categories" and "when social identity is salient, one acts as a group member, whereas, when personal identity is salient, one does not" (Abrams & Hogg, 1990, p. 4). This logic underlies SIT and justifies why the high Latino identifiers judged the comedy as more stereotypical; in short, a threat to the positive maintenance of in-group identity by relegating diverse groups to marginalizing stereotypes. The high identifiers likely interpreted the stereotypes in two ways: grouping diverse Latino subgroups together as monolithic and then portraying them in demeaning ways.

Though high identifiers likely recognize Latino within-group diversity, they may have identified empathically with other subgroups, and racial and ethnic out-groups. Two of the three comedy segments targeted recent, presumed Mexican illegal immigrant day laborers working for American companies. It is possible the high Latino identifiers felt greater in-group solidarity with this subgroup, despite whether they personally belong to this group. For example, "California Law" exclusively targeted recent immigrant undocumented day laborers constructing a fence along the U.S.-Mexico

border to prevent other Mexicans from crossing illegally.[17] Even with the heterogeneity within a Mexican-origin subgroup, perceived similarities or an empathic in-grouping resulted in the high identifiers reacting defensively. High Latino identifiers might identify with other Latino subgroups due to the perpetual foreigner stereotype they are subject to, regardless of citizenship, in a country like the U.S. that categorizes people primarily on race and ethnicity (Lee et al., 2009; Verkuyten, 2010; Wu, 2002). One does not have to be a recent immigrant or a non-citizen to be seen as a perpetual foreigner by others (Chou & Feagin, 2008; Santa Ana, 2002). More specifically, as more dark-skinned and/or Spanish-speaking migrants enter the U.S., the tendency to code all Mexican-origin individuals as foreign persists, which reinforces an intergroup boundary that sets Mexicans and Mexican Americans apart from White Americans (Jimenez, 2004). Priming across the comedy material may have invoked compassion and empathy for other stereotypically-depicted Latino and minority groups (e.g., "U.S. Army" segment). This perceived similar stigmatized group status allows others to band together towards social support and change: "stigmatized people gain greater visibility and social capital with which they may actively confront the larger social system and seek to bring about change that may improve the plight of their group" (Rintamaki & Brashers, 2010, p. 165).

Although some Latinos self-identify with in-group culture collectively, regardless of generation, citizenship, or integration with dominant American society, the higher end of

[17] Since immigration remains a hot topic today, it is important to note much of the illegal immigration rhetoric, particularly in the mass media, describes a problem unique to the U.S.-Mexico border (Hinojosa, Cisneros, Hernandez, King, Gomez, & Langlois, 2007; Meissner, 2010), though this is not the full extent of illegal immigration to the U.S.

the acculturation spectrum often infers social and economic class differences (Rojas, 2004; Valdivia, 2010). Among low Latino identifiers, a self-distancing process seemed to occur where the personal (individual, class or acculturation level) identity was prioritized over the social (Latino collective) identity (Capozza, Voci, & Licciardello, 2000; Rojas, 2004; Worchel et al., 2000), resulting in the greater tendency to see the comedy as less stereotypical. For example, "Ethnic Hierarchies" pinpoints a literal hierarchy of Mexicans, Salvadoreans, and Nicaraguans, with Mexicans occupying the top status. The hierarchy is conceptualized with acculturation level and comparative notions of economic and social power between Latino subgroups. Since identification and self-esteem are closely related, "negative self-esteem as a result of group membership is thought to lead to a tendency to dis-identify with the group or to seek more favorable intergroup comparisons" (Verkuyten, 2005, p. 67). As one participant stated, "It's offensive to Hispanics because there are Latinos who have better lives than those depicted in the script. I come from a wealthy Hispanic background." Other participants conveyed in-group or out-group distinctions by stating only certain groups of Latinos would likely take offense to the jokes. One participant noted, "If the audience is mostly Salvadorean," they would be more offended than other Latino groups. The preceding comment reveals an in-group/out-group mentality that explains ethnic subgroups' exemption from offense due to flexible out-grouping, despite broad in-grouping as Latinos. Identity adjustments can result in distancing from one's own in-group by prioritizing an esteemed or higher social status primary identity in-grouping,

such as class background (Gray, 1994; Verkuyten, 2005) or acculturation level in the case of Hispanic Americans in this study.

The sense of self-distancing and drawing distinctions between Latino subgroups whose members share a specific common heritage further situates this finding and is consistent with prior research (Park et al., 2006). If low-identifying Latinos prioritize their national over racial/ethnic identity, the latter are not automatically primary identities for racial and ethnic minorities (Mastro, 2010), as individuals' behavior is guided by several identity concerns acting simultaneously (Worchel et al., 2000). While low Latino identifiers may not de-emphasize or deny their racial or ethnic in-group membership, they are less likely than the high Latino identifiers to prioritize this identity and then react ego-defensively upon exposure to Latino-specific comedy. It is possible that other identities are more central to the low Latino identifiers' self concepts, such as class, nationality, and acculturation level, which serve as primary identities to individuals differently.

If other identities (not including racial or ethnic identities) are more primary to the low Latino identifiers, a further explanation could be that the low Latino identifiers not only failed to identify with the "illegal aliens" subgroup, but they may have condemned this subgroup to a greater extent due to their own primary identity as Americans. The low identifiers may have read the comedy segments as *true* rather than stereotypical. Though not statistically significant, participants' ratings of the comedy as humorous approached significance and the strength of the humor rating varied by the participants' racial identification level (high or low). This near-significant finding implies that low

Latino identification is related to lower stereotypicality and higher humor perceptions of race-based comedy; the high Latino identifiers did not rate the comedy segments as high on humor as the low identifiers. The preceding near-significant finding is worthy of greater attention in future similar studies to better ascertain this potential correlation.

Overall in-group (Latino), despite specific subgroup (Mexican-origin) membership is not necessarily a prerequisite to harboring a racial or ethnic salient social identity. Being Latino with primary racial identity greatly impacts responses upon exposure to stereotypical comedy that degrades Latinos or other similar Latino (or minority) subgroups (Mastro et al., 2008). More research is needed to tease out the differences between high and low identifiers.

Comedy Segments: Comedian's Racial Identity and Media Enjoyment

The second hypothesis was supported. Participants rated the comedy segments higher on media enjoyment when the comedian was Latino ("Juan Rodriguez") than when he was White ("John Rodgers"), demonstrating the effectiveness of the comedian's race manipulation. This finding speaks volumes about who has more of a social right to perform race-based comedy and is consistent with prior work stressing the importance of the content features and viewer characteristics, as racial in-group identification is an important factor in subsequent responses to comedy material (Ford, 1997; Mastro et al., 2008; Park et al., 2006).

The idea that who tells the in-group race-based jokes matters more than the joke content sends the message that racial humor is acceptable in some contexts. The notion that in-group members can tell race-based jokes about their own in-groups without being

immediately labeled racist by in-group (or out-group) members is consistent with prior research (Awkward, 2009; Park et al., 2006; Rappoport, 2005). Many popular stand-up comedians rely on poking fun at their own racial, ethnic, gender and other (often times marginal) in-group memberships to elicit laughs from audiences (Gilbert, 2004; Horowitz, 1997; Rappoport, 2005). Interestingly, the comedy segments used in this study also targeted other racial and ethnic groups alongside Latinos. Since the comedian was perceived by Latino participants to be a Latino minority in-group member with the name "Juan Rodriguez," he was permitted more flexibility to joke about his own and other minority groups. It is plausible that minority comedians are perceived as embodiments of culture and their minority status opens up a space for "safe" discussion of taboo topics (Gilbert, 2004). Importantly, no significant distinction arose on media enjoyment within the participants' level of in-group racial identification (high versus low). This implies that the Latinos in this study, regardless of self-reported level of racial identification, rated the race-based comedy as more enjoyable when they perceived the comedian to be a fellow Latino.

Of course, this logic does not mean out-groups (Whites) do not also engage in race-based joke telling about out-groups (minorities). Certainly other scholarship pinpoints the complicated ways this unfolds depending on the "frontstage" and the "backstage" contexts (Picca & Feagin, 2007), and the reception of such material is often contingent upon the racial and ethnic identity of the joke-teller and audience members. Mencia's stand-up comedy show is a prime example of the "frontstage" setting because it was easily available to mass audiences on cable television for several seasons and,

though no longer on air, is still available online and for purchase or rental on DVD. Mencia occupies a unique position, as he brings the justified Latino-only "backstage" to the mass-mediated "frontstage" being that the mass mediated "frontstage" includes diverse audiences, not limited to Latino in-group members.

Participants in this study may already hold a predisposed enjoyment of race-based comedy found regularly through mainstream media outlets with the caveat that it is enjoyable (or less offensive) only if an in-group member performs it: "intergroup criticism appears to be viewed by insiders and bystanders alike as an expression of prejudice, whereas intragroup criticism is not – no matter how ill-advised or unfortunate it might be" (Sutton et al., 2008, p. 358). As Mastro (2010) states, "mass media offerings are more easily manipulated to meet identity needs" (p. 199), and this is especially true for dominant group members in the U.S. Latinos may be more likely to find race-based comedy enjoyable when the comedian is perceived as a Latino in-group member, and this in-group identity might enhance group vitality (Park, et al., 2006). These findings support prior research. For instance, Awkward (2009) finds that Black Americans are significantly less receptive to race-based humor about Black Americans when performed by out-group members. Similarly, Strausbaugh (2006) claims that since images of Blackness have historically been controlled by Whites, when Whites (or other out-groups) tell Black-specific jokes, the jokes should be automatically treated as hate speech and the joke-tellers should be held accountable. As both scholars assert, though others have pinpointed negative consequences spawned from racial and ethnic joking, these are typically lessened if the joke-teller is an in-group member.

Popular Latino comedian Paul Rodriguez was once asked about his stance on jokes concerning Hispanics and he said he was never offended "so long as the joke was funny" because "anyone should be able to enjoy jokes about their own group in the spirit of good fun, without being offended, and if they cannot, then too bad for them" (Rappoport, 2005, p. 5). Latino in-group members like Rodriguez and Mencia help normalize the notion that in-group members should be able to simply take a joke without much concern for whether the joke disparages the in-group or has longer-term effects on real-world interactions. Furthermore, there is support for an unspoken acceptability line that can be crossed in race-based stereotype humor, and as long as in-group insults are not pushed too far, they can strengthen group solidarity and even manifest as in-group pride (Rappoport, 2005). This double standard that permits in-groups to enjoy in-group-based humor has been described with a shield metaphor:

> Minority individuals who identify with comedians from their group enjoy seeing them both acknowledge and defy disparaging stereotypes. Witnessing such humor provides a defensive shield against prejudice by encouraging an enhanced sense of self-esteem. More specifically, when it is plain that the minority performer, whether it be Chris Rock, Paul Rodriguez, Margaret Cho, or another, is able to openly confront stereotypes about their group and use humor to rise above them, this paves the way for minority viewers to do the same (Rappoport, 2005, p. 155).

The shield metaphor serves a dual purpose for in-group members targeted by the disparaging stereotypes: acknowledging and facing negative in-group stereotypes head on and providing a defense strategy for dealing with the stereotypes, should they arise in another context.

In addition to the stereotypical content, the use of explicit language by racial minority comedians is a strategy to redefine powerful, derogatory terms used to

subordinate certain groups, a coping mechanism towards countering historic oppression. For example, Chappelle once said in an interview, "I look at it like that word, 'n-----,' used to be a word of oppression. But that when I say it, it feels more like an act of freedom. For me to be able to say that unapologetically on television" (Leung, 2004). However, when asked whether Chappelle thought a White comedian could use the 'N' word, he said, "I'd be furious…That word, if you could sum up the story of America in a word, that might be the word that I'd pick. It has connotations in it that society has never dealt with" (Leung, 2004). Chappelle acknowledges the double standard for comedians based on their racial in-group membership that is also a product of context and audience sensitivity.

While in-group solidarity may be a partial basis for a higher acceptance of race-based comedy material pertaining to the in-group, there remains much to be discovered about the role the comedian's race plays in how perceptions are negotiated by in-group audiences. Whether racial in-group comedians performing marginality by invoking their minority standing actually contributes to meaningful discursive empowerment through common stereotypes and taboo racial topics is an area worthy of future analysis (Gilbert, 2004). Nevertheless, "the way that we behave towards other people and our feelings about them very much depend upon the social groups to which they belong" (Oakes et al., 1994, p. 1), which pertains to a SIT process in which in-groups strive towards maintaining a positive group identity. It would appear as if a positive sense of in-group racial identity could hardly be achieved through race-based jokes that negatively depict in-groups. However, the comedian's position as successful

joke-teller who makes people laugh with self-deprecating humor could override any potential in-group threat, so long as the comedian is perceived to be an in-group member.

Judicial Review: Participants' Racial Identity, Alleged Offender's Race and Guilt

The fourth hypothesis was partially supported. The three-way interaction effect was not significant. After responding to the race-based comedy, a two-way interaction effect occurred with the participants' racial identification level on the guilt ratings for the alleged offender in the judicial review scenarios, which differed depending on the offender's perceived race. The higher the participants' Latino identification, the higher the guilt rating when the offender was a White ("Charlie" or "Matthew") than when the offender was a Latino ("Carlos" or "Miguel") after being primed with race-based comedy.

The mere exposure to derogatory ethnic or racial signifiers influences social judgment in a discriminatory manner by priming negative racial attitudes and stereotypes (Greenberg & Pyszcynski, 1985; Kirkland, Greenberg, & Pyszcynski, 1987; Oakes et al., 1994). Consistent with prior research, media primes are powerful in impacting social perceptions and attitudes towards out-group races and ethnicities (Ford, 1997; Mastro, 2003). The stereotypical comedy portrayals activated stereotypes about Latinos in general. With such representations more readily accessible upon evaluation of the crime scenarios (drug dealing; assault), the high Latino identifiers employed a defensive strategy to preserve their positive in-group identity by rating the out-group (White)

offenders higher on guilt. As the SIT posits, the tendency to maintain a positive in-group sense of superiority motivates in-group members to respond favorably towards the in-group, even to the detriment of an out-group (Crocker & Major, 1989; Fein & Spencer, 1997; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986; Turner, Brown, & Tajfel, 1979). Additionally, disparaging certain groups through humor increases collective tolerance or acceptance of discrimination against out-groups. Audiences are likely to engage in discriminatory social judgment upon exposure to disparaging humor about their own in-groups (Ford, 1997; Mastro, 2010) because "successful intergroup discrimination enhances social identity and thus elevates self-esteem" (Hogg & Abrams, 1990, p. 33). As this study demonstrates, discriminatory social judgment is particularly likely when audience members hold a strong identification with the in-group.

In Ford's (1997) study, White participants evaluated only the African-American alleged offender more negatively after exposure to stereotypical portrayals of African-Americans, which demonstrates the power for seemingly harmless yet stereotypical comedy portrayals of out-groups to influence how people think about and respond to those groups when faced with the opportunity to make judgments. While the White participants in Ford's (1997) study reacted more negatively to the African American offender after being primed with negative African American stereotypes through comedy, this study revealed that the Latino participants, when primed with negative stereotypes of Latinos, reacted more negatively to the out-group alleged offender (White). Ford (1997) reasoned that "when an abstract representation of a social category is primed, the priming is applicable only when the target person belongs to the

primed category" (p. 271). The current study deviates from this reasoning because even when the negative primes directly related to the in-group (Latinos), the tendency to judge the out-group member more harshly remained. Entertainment material, particularly involving stereotypical humor, is evidently not as harmless and playful as some scholars suggest (Rappoport, 2005), as there can be real-world condemnations of representative out-group members upon negative stereotype priming exposure.

Other complexities underlying the SIT and identity management strategies (i.e., social competition) when one's in-group is presented in a negative or derogatory light further contextualize this finding. Social competition states that high in-group identifiers may be more aware of and more likely to engage in intergroup clashes when their in-group identity is threatened, particularly by out-groups (Reid & Anderson, 2010; Turner & Brown, 1978). Given that the negative stereotypes influenced the high identifier Latinos to rate the White offender more harshly on guilt in the current study, there seems an implicit comparison process being made with Whites because high Latino racial identity at least partially elicited negative emotions towards the out-group. The inference shows that these intergroup comparisons ultimately favor the in-group and simultaneously serve to protect and enhance self-esteem by way of downward social comparisons with the out-group(s) (Mastro, 2003; Mastro et al., 2008).

This interracial negotiation process highlights the important reality that racial stereotyping and joking often do not occur in a vacuum. In fact, the very meaning underlying stereotypes perhaps derives from in-group and out-group comparisons, however implicit they may be presented (Rintamaki & Brashers, 2010). It is not

surprising that the high Latino identifiers engaged more in implicit intergroup comparing, since it is typically cohesive groups with strong liking of the in-group who experience more frustration and hostility in the face of in-group insults than other simultaneously targeted groups (Hogg, 1992). The high Latino identifiers, in engaging in social competition based on their knowledge of the alleged offenders' group membership, likely condemned the White out-group alleged offender more so due to a perception that dominant group members are more prone to dole out abuse (Hornsey, 2008; Rintamaki & Brashers, 2010). It would be intriguing to see whether this tendency holds up when participants are primed with an out-group but non-White comedian from a different racial or ethnic group; in other words, does out-group derogation always occur? (Anderson, 2010). For example, if an Asian or African American (minority in-group, racial out-group) comedian tells race-based jokes about Latinos, does this remain unacceptable or is it less offensive than when a White (dominant out-group, racial out-group) comedian does it (Worchel et al., 2000)?

Implications

The current study holds many theoretical and practical implications. First, theoretical implications for race-based humor, the SIT, and media priming are explicated. Practical implications for media audiences and media practitioners follow.

Theoretical Implications

Race-based Comedy. Despite the politically correct, supposedly colorblind nature of today's society, a tension exists between a respectful attitude towards others in the diverse U.S., and the ability to laugh at jokes, even if those jokes degrade an entire

heterogeneous group. Racial and ethnic stereotypes employed in stand-up comedy occupy a unique position because the audience is self-selected. However, when stand-up comedy fuses with a television show format, the context becomes much more widely accessible. This creates potential to expose diverse audiences to racist attitudes normalized as funny by the comedians' performance. Though most audience members are inclined to say they are not racist (the politically correct, socially desirable response), the contradictory space of comedians of color performing racist in-group and out-group material provides the opportunity for even the most self-proclaimed non-racists to laugh at racist material because it is presented as lighthearted joking. Of course this relationship is not absolute, but most do not want to be accused of lacking a sense of humor, even if the jokes are degrading. Typically, racial and ethnic stereotype humor does not invoke positive aspects of target groups; rather, the emphasis overwhelmingly rests on negative, simplistic generalizations.

Racist attitudes are perpetuated with the prevalent use of subtle or blatant racial and ethnic stereotypes by diverse comedians in a "frontstage" entertainment media setting. When audiences see a comedian who is an in-group member perform in-group stereotypical, race-based material, this implies an exception to otherwise unacceptable types of humor. Minority comedians who poke fun at their own minority group validate stereotypical attitudes about representative minority group members, and this is evident in the current study with those in-group (Latino) members who hold racial identity as primary and important to their self-concept. The preceding reality is dangerous, as it not

only accentuates intergroup differences, but it feeds the notion that intragroup homogeneity is accurate.

Humor in General. Beyond race-based comedy in particular, pinpointing the fine line between humor that is intended to promote stereotypes for entire groups and that which intends to make critical social commentary by way of jokes poked at the marginalized is not an easy task. Some scholars caution that merely invoking racial differences in comedy has the potential to make trivial the harsh, lived realities of targeted minority groups; additionally, some assert that degrading jokes about privileged groups are more acceptable because they are likely to have less of a real-world impact on those who occupy a more privileged position. Arguably, though the privileged may have more resources to exercise greater power over their own lives, there may still be the potential for real-world discriminatory responses when the privileged are faced with dissimilar others. In other words, it is possible and not well-understood whether comedic stereotypes that marginalize privileged groups also may result in negative real-world treatment by others influenced, in part, by stereotypical portrayals couched in comedy.

Though not directly the focus of the current study, it is important to point out that comedians themselves would likely (and often do so in interviews) defend their use of race-based comedy as an ultimate indication of having a sense of humor. The rationale follows that when someone is able to laugh at themselves, they are rising above the seriousness of real-world issues and momentarily able to engage seriousness in comedy. As previously mentioned, being able to take a joke about nearly any topic, no matter how taboo or race-based, speaks to one's overall sense of humor, which is typically a

basis for judging an individual's overall character, both audience member and comedian. Comedians also feel a sense of empowerment and agency by exploiting stereotypes for laughs from audiences. Again, as long as the comedian makes clear that his or her intention is only to entertain and amuse, and not insult entire groups, they are permitted more flexibility to make such jokes. In fact, comedians argue for the educational, critical, even corrective function that stereotype humor plays.

While the current study does not explicitly pick apart the specific jokes used in the comedy segments, it does provide support for whether one's sense of humor promotes resistance to race-based judgments in real-world contexts. More specifically, while the vast majority of participants in the current study said they enjoy comedy material in the media, there were still perceptions revealed that show one's sense of humor and enjoyment of comedy are not necessarily predictive of one's neutral judgments when presented with real-world situations to evaluate. It is particularly telling that participants judged the alleged offenders differently on guilt when evaluating the exact same set of case facts. Therefore, race-based jokes, however enjoyable audience members might find them to be, are still operating at a subconscious level to make audiences draw upon race relations when evaluating in-group and out-group members in similar crime scenarios as presented in the comedy context.

Social Identity Theory. This study has implications for SIT, aside from supporting several central theoretical tenets. When in-group members perceive a comedian to be an in-group member, they are less likely to outright condemn the comedian for perpetuating stereotypes that degrade a collective in-group. An inherent sense of credibility gives

license to the in-group comedian to perform race-based material about his or her own in-group because the comedian presumably speaks from first-hand experience. Perhaps in-group likeness trumps comedians' content choices, as in-group members may judge a comedian's popularity as success, thereby supporting a positive in-group identity. It is interesting and potentially risky that in-group comedians perform in-group race-based material with out-group members also in the audience. When out-group members see in-group representatives make fun of their own in-groups, the implication is that such behavior is acceptable to laugh at, so long as the in-group member does the joke-telling.

Race-based comedy material performed by in-group members for both in-groups and out-groups influences intergroup interactions and intragroup identity negotiations. This study strengthens the within-group heterogeneity notion, which is typically more salient to in-group members than out-group members. Some in-group members whose in-group identity is less salient were able to distance themselves from the stereotypes, which permitted them to find the jokes less offensive. The social identity process undoubtedly manifests individually, even though specific in-group memberships (racial and ethnic in particular) are presumed salient. Within-group minority members negotiate their primary identities differently, which impacts their motivation to work towards racial or ethnic in-group positive identity when confronted with race-based stereotypical comedy. As this study has done, future studies gauging racial and ethnic identity salience should distinguish between high and low identifier in-group members. There remains much to be learned from further analyzing demographics, primary identities that

compete with racial and ethnic identities, and within-group diversity as they might impact subsequent judgments.

Media Priming. Though media primes typically result in short-term effects, their power should not be underestimated. Media primes are usually short, yet direct in making a social statement that has meaning for various audience members. Simply projecting in-group or out-group membership with the name manipulation in this study influenced how participants felt about the comedy material, and then persisted into how they reacted to the alleged offenders in the judicial review scenarios. Time sequence of priming exposure is meaningful in addition to the nature and salience of the primes. As this study demonstrates, priming participants with racial and ethnic stereotypes couched in a humorous context was a powerful influence on the extent to which participants rated the alleged offenders on guilt. Therefore, the short-term nature of humorous media primes can be powerful in influencing real-world judgments. More exhaustive studies of priming content would lend great insight into which types of comedy material impact subsequent real-world judgments the most and in which directions those judgments are influenced. Whether less controversial comedy material results in different judicial judgments remains to be seen.

Practical Implications

Media Audiences. Returning to the title of this dissertation, is it all really just a joke? Are those who do not find race-based humor funny lacking a sense of humor? As the results show, humor exerts great power over diverse audiences in influencing perceptions and potential real-world interactions with in-groups and out-groups when

presented with such opportunities (as in making judgments on one's guiltiness in a crime accusation). Having a sense of humor about race-based content does not necessarily make an audience member immune to intergroup judgments. When exposed to race-based comedy, regardless of how funny audience members find it, they are still subject to judge others differentially even outside of the comedy context. Clearly different audiences take away different messages, implying a need for more fine-tuned media effects theories for in-groups and out-groups. Audience variables, such as racial and ethnic identification, are important to future studies. An extension of this study should concentrate on how short-term primed effects may contribute to a lasting impact on participants and how the race-based content translates into real-world (inter)actions. Integrating psychological health, stress, and self-esteem variables would lend insight into the potential lasting impact of race-based comedy (Feagin & McKinney, 2003).

However, striking differences between and within groups are more often accentuated for favorable ratings and audience laughs, but it is difficult to overcome these with counter-stereotypical information. Media consumers should be more critical in audience member roles, even when self-selected and watching a stand-up comedian perform racial, stereotypical material. Media advocacy and literacy training would benefit audiences to "become more conscious of the role of media in actively shaping social reality" and then audiences "will be less likely to be influenced by the biased, unidimensional portrayals of racial groups in the media" (Ramasubramanian, 2007, p. 252). Beyond this critical approach to comedy media consumption, audiences should actively interrupt racism, especially when directed at one's own in-group in a supposedly

light-hearted, humorous context including attitudinal as well as action and behavioral responses (Feagin & McKinney, 2003). An effective strategy for active anti-racism entails making problematic the everyday, "business as usual" ways racist thought is perpetuated; a simple action is just speaking up critically to make people think more carefully about the dangerous fine line implicated in race-based joking (Feagin & McKinney, 2003; O'Brien, 2001; Tatum, 2010). Of course, a few underlying questions leave much more to be explored in better understanding how race-based comedy fully operates and then potentially translates into real-world (inter)actions: Is it racist to simply talk about race? Can comedians ever talk about race and not be priming audiences to think about racial differences? For example, is disparaging whiteness the same as disparaging people who are White?

Media Practitioners. The mass media are especially relevant sources for social identity confirmation or dissociation as well as intergroup competition (Mastro, 2003; Mastro, 2010). More attention is needed on the notions of in-group defense and out-group condemnation when examining comedy, sense of humor, and subsequent real-world judgments. When hostile, racist remarks are made, the speaker (or comedian) judges certain groups unworthy of the same decent treatment afforded to other groups in society (Brislin, 1986). Whether people maintain racial or ethnic in-group favoritism by taking their frustration out on out-groups of color is not clear. Media have the potential to perpetuate stereotypes, educate, and entertain. The content of the race-based stereotypes and the way comedians rationalize their expression of them has implications. First, the looming questions are obvious: are we, as audience members, simply

desensitized, do comedic stereotypes perpetuate negativity, or is the comedian actually engaged in meaningful social critique? Participants in this study expressed a social concern for whether audiences are critical. If audience members are laughing because the jokes are so ridiculous and full of ignorant stereotypes, then it's acceptable because the comedian might be seen as contributing to real, critical, social commentary with the end goal of debunking narrow stereotypes. If they are laughing because the stereotypical jokes are understood as true, then that breeds hate and perpetuates negative perceptions of heterogeneous groups. The key question for comedians to ask themselves is whether audiences are laughing *with* them at the ridiculous race-based stereotypes, or are they laughing *at* them for being an in-group member confirming the stereotypes? Chappelle left his *Chappelle's Show* for Africa in 2005 after he faced a "crisis of conscience" (K.L., 2006; Murphy, 2007). Chappelle wondered whether his young fans (who made the DVD release of his TV show the biggest seller of all time) truly understood his incisive commentary or were simply laughing uncritically at the racial stereotypes.

The major social implication for comedians is responsibility, since they hold much power over their own material, as do their producers. As Chappelle confronted a personal dilemma of capitalizing on race-based jokes, perhaps other minority comedians of color should be more aware of their real-world impact beyond immediate laughs at well-delivered punchlines. Comedians in the mass media are uniquely positioned to bring the "backstage" forward, though this can be dangerous. In an interview, Mencia addressed his use of race-based comedy: "Those words show my anger. They don't hurt anyone like stabbings or drive-by shootings… If I can make people think for a moment

then that, to me, is inspirational" (Bergheim & Macias, 1994). The word choices of comedians infer perceptions about entire groups. More specifically, "people might infer that prejudice is normative when they hear others using hate terms" (Sutton, 2010, p. 112), which does not support Mencia's assertion that words are harmless. Perhaps because using derogatory terms in a comedy context does not result in physical harm in the literal, immediate sense Mencia believes race-based comedy is essentially harmless; however, as this study shows, such content may result in subtle displays of discrimination against relevant out-group members, which is a different type of harm that is no less serious in the longer term, as real-world judgments undoubtedly impact the life outcome of someone undergoing a judicial process as in the second portion of this study.

Operationalizing meaningful social critique presents difficulties. However, the argument can be made that even those who say they "can take a joke" and enjoy race-based comedy about their own in-groups may still react defensively against out-groups when faced with real-world judgment scenarios. For example, two of the three comedy segments used in this study invoked Latino stereotypes with Mexican day laborers portrayed in contested border relations with the U.S. Even the stereotypes meant to depict Mexicans as hard-working contributors central to American society still demean Latinos because they send the message that all Mexicans are illegals, relegated to only the lowest working class segment of American society; however, they are not worthy to permanently reside in the U.S, only to serve a specific economic function and then go back to where they came from. More importantly, such constant depictions are

likely to impact people's real world attitudes toward Latinos overall since many people do not understand the heterogeneity and acculturation diversity within those who fall under the "Latino" or "Hispanic" category. The recent controversial legislation in Arizona that arguably legalizes racial profiling serves as a prime indicator of this reality (Johnson & Hauc, 2011). The clear big picture argument in the current findings is that there are other types of humor or ways to talk about cultural intricacies that can be funny and still in good taste, without degrading entire groups. Comedy derived from derogatory discussions about entire groups normalizes intergroups' perceived essential differences, promotes intragroup homogeneity, and perpetuates racist thoughts. Comedians and media outlets that normalize racist attitudes through comedy do not actually help overcome racism or make socially, politically meaningful statements. Rather, this type of comedy dangerously translates into stronger out-group condemnation, even when evaluating the same set of facts for an alleged offender accused of a crime.

Potential Jurors. Perhaps among the most practical implications of this study is that diverse people are routinely chosen to work with others and determine the fate of an alleged offender accused of a crime. In the second portion of the study, the judicial review scenario was an ostensibly real-world opportunity for participants to make judgments of others based on a set of somewhat vague case facts. The high Latino identifier participants in the study, upon media priming with race-based comedy, judged the White offender higher on guilt than the Latino offender. This is particularly interesting because condition was not significant; in other words, whether the comedian

was White or Latino was not associated with the subsequent judgments made. The implication in this finding is that perhaps the explicitness of the race-based comedy segments was more memorable or meaningful in impact than was the comedian's in-group or out-group identification as joke-teller. Media priming supports the time order influence in the short-term; however, it is unclear whether exposure to such material would result in longer term associations made, which then impact subsequent judgments in similar real-world evaluations.

The implications for potential jurors remain a somewhat complicated matter. First, determining whether a potential juror adheres to racist attitudes is not easily revealed. Especially with the politically correct, colorblind social climate of the U.S. today, individuals are likely to mask explicit racist attitudes in most contexts and employ other strategies to account for implicit racist attitudes. This is, in itself, dangerous for alleged offenders because jurors may have hidden agendas that they may not even be aware of due to the subtle, yet pervasive nature of race-based teachings in the media, through comedy, and in interpersonal contexts that are often embedded in a "just joking" tone.

Overall, with the prevalence and popularity of race-based comedy, the likelihood for audiences to continue to receive racial and ethnic stereotype reinforcements is great. This media reality could mean that jury members rely upon stereotype imagery to varying extends to assist them in making real-world judgments of representative out-group and in-group members. However, jurors could also become more critical media consumers and then consciously reject race-based stereotype reliance to strive towards being truly fair in evaluating alleged offenders. After all, juries deliberate with

one another to arrive at a verdict, which has at least a two-fold implication: racial stereotypes could easily be dunked through discussion and a prioritizing of the case facts, or jurors who rely upon race-based stereotypes could sway other jurors to also adhere to these stereotypes, without necessarily having to cite the stereotypes explicitly. In choosing jury members, perhaps attorneys should include questionnaire items that attempt to measure one's race-based beliefs that may lend insight into stereotype adherence likelihood when judging others.

Limitations of the Present Study and Directions for Future Research

This study is not without limitations. The comedy segments were formatted to create a more genuine television script appearance, a common strategy (Ford, 1997; Mastro et al., 2008). Stand-up comedy relies heavily on verbal and nonverbal components, and the segments used specifically invoked stereotypical portrayals based on vernacular, accents, meaningful pauses, and intonation. The open-ended responses reveal mixed perspectives on reading the scripts. One participant said, “It’s funny and it was hard for me to keep quiet in class,” which indicates that the jokes were delivered effectively on paper. Others said seeing the material performed by a comedian would be best. One participant wrote, “The scripts should have been on video to get my true feeling.” Also, the dependent variable, comedian perception, was not significant; it might be more relevant with comedy videos through which derived persona, joke delivery, and the cultivated performer-audience relationship is more apparent. One future research direction is hiring amateur Latino (in-group) and White (out-group) actors to perform the comedy skits. Employing amateur “no name” actors would alleviate the concern for familiarity with

the comedians and provide original videos. Still, the threat to ecological validity stands firm as most people engage in a full sensory experience of comedy, whether in front of a television or surrounded by a live audience in a comedy club.

While participants acknowledged the material's race basis, there were some open-ended remarks that indicated the language used was an automatic turn-off, even when the segments made a social point. This is an interesting caveat, as comments about the language mostly alluded to the racial slurs (i.e., the 'N' word, "wetback," and "redneck") as offensive. The implication is that there are ways to invoke explicit racial and ethnic stereotypes that may be considered more acceptable. Omitting derogatory language would be the best approach. Whether language can stand alone with the power to create, change, and manipulate intergroup dynamics as a causal force in its own right remains to be seen (Sutton, 2010).

Another consideration is to use race-based comedy material with less hot-button current events. For example, the "U.S. Army" segment met with some resistance from participants because it targeted many racial and ethnic groups alongside one another, but it was also seen as a celebration of the diverse American military. Striking a fine balance between using race-based comedy and not targeting one group exclusively, but still invoking a social issue, would be best. It is possible that other contexts are less offensive, despite the presence of race-based humor, since racial and ethnic stereotype perpetuation does not occur only through stand-up comedians. Though the segments chosen for this study explicitly demean certain groups, other types of "softer" comedy should be more closely critiqued. Subtle reinforcements of stereotypical humor can be

found even in popular primetime programming including sitcoms like *My Name is Earl* and adult cartoon shows like *South Park, Family Guy* and *American Dad*.

Joking about people with mental health issues, Latinos and "rednecks" may have been more distracting to participants. In one comment, a participant stated the "need to include more of a diverse race argument, [and] not only focus on Hispanic/Mexican [groups]." Another participant suggested, "Don't talk about Mexicans. Talk about other races more" (with a smiley face at the end of this comment). The preceding comments indicate that the comedy material too obviously focused on Latinos. Another participant felt the mental retardation joking was unacceptable but that poking fun at "rednecks," a sort of class racism (Balibar, 1999), would be a tamer approach. Revisiting the order of the segments, the explicit content, and the sub-groups of Latinos depicted are necessary tasks for future similar studies.

The experimental study design could be improved by including a control group. One way would be to add a control group condition where participants evaluate non-race-based comedy segments. For example, comedy material could be culled from other comedians who make less controversial jokes. Adding a control group of participants who do not see the race-based jokes would strengthen the argument for causality in significant results in the judicial review portion; then, the results could be compared based on the race-based or neutral comedy to see how participants react to the judicial portion (Ford, 1997). Given the overall intention of the study with a focus on race-based comedy and subsequent real-world judgments, it can be argued that everyone is affected by racism and in-group and out-group targeting in media comedy. A control

group was not considered essential to the objective of this study because so few studies focus on racial and ethnic minority participants' perceptions, as this study did.

Despite centering on an all-Latino in-group sample and randomly assigning participants to one of four conditions, the sample was a college student convenience sample. College students are, arguably, not a generalizable population segment. Arguably, college students tend to exercise a higher level of consciousness and critical thinking when evaluating media. In fact, some participants revealed a perception that the type of comedy employed in the study would mostly appeal to a lower-class or uneducated, uncritical population segment (which is a stereotype perception in itself). In addition, the region where data collection took place may meaningfully impact racial attitudes. Though it was a strategic decision to solicit participants from a big public university in a large, diverse city, the results may have been different in another university setting, even if only the Latino participants' responses were analyzed.

Another noteworthy critique is that most stand-up comedy audience members are self-selected, whether in person or through media. Of course, one could argue that race-based comedy material is easily found in the mainstream media with shows like *Mind of Mencia* aired on popular channels. Therefore, the possibility of being exposed to race-based comedy and the racy language employed by comedians could create for a non-self-selected audience; surely participants could still change the channel if they find the comedy offensive or not funny. However, this type of comedy material is literally in the living rooms of people across the country with the click of a button. Stand-up comedy formats embedded in popular TV shows occupy a unique intersection. It is

unclear whether the current sample of Latinos represents people who would or would not normally tune in to this type of programming. Other population segments may be more real-world relevant and subsequent generalizing from the results could be better justified.

As with self-report measures, social desirability could have been an issue. Though participants were ensured confidentiality, it is possible they up-played or down-played their racial identification, among other measures. Some participants admitted laughing out loud as they took the survey, which may have resulted in inter-participant bias. Similar future studies should be completed in a controlled lab setting with headphones to filter out background noise. In addition, due to the politically correct nature of society today, "direct self-report or survey research methods are no longer capable of detecting individuals' attitudes in a way that is thought to be accurate" (Taylor, King, & Usborne, 2010). Using implicit methods of measuring prejudicial or other deeply rooted intergroup attitudes is an important strategy, perhaps with electronic assessment equipment instead of paper-and-pencil questionnaires (Vargas, Sekaquaptewa, & von Hippel, 2007). Implicit measures would be ideal in assessing stereotype adherence and subsequent intergroup responses because "implicit measures aim to assess attitudinal responses that do not stem from an active, intentional search for relevant information, but instead are the result of passive processes that run their course automatically following exposure to the attitude object" (Wittenbrink, 2007, p. 19).

There are other important considerations for future similar research gleaned from this study. In heeding recommended directions for research (Ford, 1997; Mastro et al.,

2008), this study employed a minority group (Latinos) as the focus to gauge intergroup effects distinguishing between high and low racial identifiers. This study is among the first few to examine racial minorities' responses to race-based media comedy, as much prior work focuses on White college student samples. Treating a racial group as heterogeneous is a unique contribution to the literature. Heterogeneity within racial and ethnic groups can be powerful, and measuring racial identification level with two levels (high and low) might not fully capture diversity. Future studies considering participants' racial or ethnic group identification should consider a bicultural status in addition to the high and low identifiers. Acculturation level is much more complex than simply measuring racial or ethnic identification, which is typically assumed to be a primary identity. Since high identifiers may prioritize racial and ethnic identity alongside national citizenship identity, it is important to distinguish among the different Latino sub-groups. Future research should also consider other racial and ethnic minority groups as well as White participants' responses to race-based comedy focused on Latino groups.

The area of race-based comedy in the media certainly deserves further attention. A comparative study of different types of comedy could determine whether the humorous setting accounts for participants' perceptions and to what extent. For example, as Ford (1997) points out, the context in which comedy takes place could have much more to do with how participants respond to even the most blatant race-based comedy skits. If participants were exposed to race-based comedy content on a TV channel that specifically focuses on comedy, then that context may impact responses more than if the context were more neutral. Whether a channel like Comedy Central itself primes

participants to find content humorous by its mere presence on a specific channel or website with the word "comedy" warrants clarification. The present quantitative study does not specifically provide a clear indication of whether it is racist to simply talk about race at all. It is unclear whether it is possible to tell jokes that play upon racial, ethnic, gender, or culture-specific nuances without being essentialist and invoking narrow, negative stereotypes.

Another factor to consider is gender. While there were no significant gender differences among participants in this study, gendered in-group identification could play a role in how enjoyable participants find the race-based comedy (Gray, 1994). While stand-up comedy has been dominated by men (Gilbert, 2004; Rappoport, 2005), women have entered the comedy scene increasingly in recent decades and in various forms, such as sitcoms, stand-up comedy, and late-night talk show programs (Horowitz, 1997). One comedy scholar poses some key questions: "When female comics perform traditional stand-up rhythms, are they becoming rhetorically male by speaking as men, or are they simply assuming a rhetorically powerful position onstage? Must power and aggression in stand-up comedy be considered male constructs?" (Gilbert, 2004, p. 177).

Considering a comedian's gender in addition to racial or ethnic identity is an interesting avenue. Female Korean American comedian Margaret Cho, in the comedy business since age 16 (Rappoport, 2005), acknowledges her marginal identities' impact on her comedy: "Whenever I speak, I know I have to be responsible because I am speaking not only for myself but for all Asian Americans, and the weight of that responsibility is too much to bear" (Cho, 2005). In addition to being female, Cho takes a

critical approach to her comedy as a Korean American as well. As is the case with Latinos, Asians and Asian Americans are often seen as homogenous in the U.S. This well-known reality likely informs Cho's understanding that she is seen as an Asian comedian overall, despite her specific sub-group membership as Korean American. As another example, Anjelah Johnson is a popular up-and-coming Mexican American comedian who has been featured on Comedy Central and who is on tour nationwide. Johnson first became an internet sensation with her "Nail Salon" skit where she imitates a Vietnamese nail salon worker to share their conversation about men and marriage. One of her recent famous acts involves her character, Bon Qui Qui, a Latina ex-gang member who secures a job at a fast food joint as part of a rehabilitation program entitled the "Just Out of the Hood" program (Johnson, 2011). Female comedians of color also perform stereotypical content about their own or other racial and ethnic groups, which makes for an interesting area of comedy to explore. Whether female comedians of color are permitted the same sort of comedic freedom as male comedians of color to make in-group and out-group race-based jokes is not clear.

Another research direction includes entering and analyzing the data collected for the following racial groups: African American, Asian American, White, and mixed race. Intergroup dynamics were an important finding in the current research, so deciphering intergroup relations among other out-groups (non-Latino groups) in relation to Latino-specific race-based comedy would provide great insight into other potential real-world interactions. Since racial identification was also measured for these participants, it will be most interesting to see whether differences arise among

out-groups in high and low racial identity. The practical matter implied is that racial intergroup interactions do not occur in a vacuum. The world is becoming increasingly diverse and popular race-based comedy may impact more than just the in-group's (Latinos) interactions with the dominant out-group (Whites).

Employing qualitative methods would provide deeper insight into the specific racial identifications of Latinos and complex reactions to in-group race-based comedy perceptions as well as out-group race-based comedy. An open-ended comment by one participant best sums up the rationale for employing qualitative methods in future research: "[these comedy segments are] depicting ethnic groups in a negative and demeaning way, which crosses the unspoken acceptable joke line." Exactly where this line is drawn is debatable. Focus group discussions stratified by high and low racial in-group identifiers would be ideal. Even though the study's sample was all Latino, there were still variations in whether the race-based comedy was considered humorous, enjoyable, and stereotypical. The double standard that in-group members have more leeway in telling race-based in-group jokes is not absolute. Teasing out the specifics about what makes for acceptable or funny in-group, race-based joke-telling remains a priority, in addition to whether it is racist to talk about race at all or if there are other strategies comedians can invoke race without being essentialist. Focus group discussions would provide the platform for those who identify more so versus those who identify less with their Latino in-group status to openly describe the reasoning underlying their perceptions. In the context of out-group race-based comedy, the contact hypothesis

would be a helpful platform to further situate participants' views (Hewstone & Brown, 1986; Pettigrew, 1986; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000).

Finally, another area for future research includes studying how other media are used to counter stereotypical, demeaning race-based comedy. Alternative methods of activism, classified as social creativity, are defense mechanisms by in-group members working to "protect themselves, and [they] are often found striving to educate others and disarm the stigma afflicting their group" (Rintamaki & Brashers, 2010, p. 154). We are living in a digital age where online activism is gaining momentum. As some scholars suggest, computer-mediated communication is unique because it includes visual anonymity and the salience of particular social identities (Walther & Carr, 2010).

Online resistance may come in the form of websites, blogs, and e-zines. For example, Arellano's (2007) "¡Ask a Mexican!" column began modestly as a one-time joke column in a local publication in Orange County, California, and he says it has since grown into "the most important effort toward improving U.S.-Mexico relations since *Ugly Betty*." Though Arellano's column is printed regularly and enjoys a loyal, diverse readership, Arellano believes there is still much to be done, as migration into the U.S. from Mexico continues. As a first generation Mexican American whose parents were illegal immigrants, Arellano's sense of in-group belonging both as a Mexican and an American is evident in his responses to readers' questions. Due to the anonymity in his advice-style column, Arellano's responses are sarcastic and blunt: "…we never bothered to *know* Mexicans. There never was a safe zone for Americans to ask our *amigos* about their ways" (Arellano, 2007, p. 1). Arellano's column is celebrated as an outlet for

people to ask questions about Latino cultures that might be considered culturally insensitive or politically incorrect. Rather than let ignorance prevail about Latinos, Arellano opens up a platform for candid conversation and openly confronts many common misconceptions based on history, current social issues, and his own personal insights.

Another example is the *Being Latino Online Magazine*, which has a more critical audience base and is produced by Latino/a academics from multiple disciplines. The online magazine strives to counter negative media representations and provide commentary on Latino issues. For example, one contributor wrote an entry criticizing George Lopez for his use of familiar degrading Latino stereotypes to elicit "cheap laughs" from his diverse audience on *Lopez Tonight* (Almodovar, 2011). In a similar way, Flores (2008) runs a blog for *Stage Time*, an online magazine that "stands up for comedy," and recently expressed frustration with comedians of color that rely on exploiting their race for laughs. She said, "When comedians rely on their race, religion, gender or sexual orientation for the bulk of their sets, it's hackdom at its worst. It's unoriginal, unimaginative, and completely cliché" (Flores, 2008), despite the fact that comedians/writers are often encouraged to write what they know. In sum, online forms of resistance and activism are becoming more common in recent years and deserve further attention as worthwhile counter-narratives to the all too common narrow Latino stereotypes.

Conclusions

The current research primed Latino participants with race-based stereotypical comedy performed by either a Latino or a White comedian targeting Latinos, in addition to other racial and ethnic groups, in the first portion of the study. Participants rated the comedy segments on enjoyment, humor, stereotypicality, and their perceptions of the comedian. In the second portion of the study, participants assessed two separate cases for either Latino or White alleged offenders in judicial review scenarios then rated them on guilt based on the information provided. The significant results point to interesting insights in entertainment media primes focused on stereotype comedy as such primes are activated and influence participants' subsequent opportunities to make real-world judgments at least in the short term.

To sum up the significant findings, the high Latino identifier participants found the race-based comedy segments more stereotypical than the low Latino identifiers. Latino participants overall (regardless of high or low Latino identification) tended to rate the comedy segments as more enjoyable when they perceived the comedian to be Latino as opposed to when the comedian was perceived White. After being primed with stereotype race-based comedy, the high Latino identifiers rated the White alleged offenders higher on guilt than the Latino alleged offenders in the judicial review scenarios involving crime accusations. This study contributes meaningfully to literature on intragroup and intergroup dynamics. First, this research affirms the reality that our racial or ethnic in-group membership often plays a key role in how we perceive ourselves, how others perceive us, and how we interact with one another. While we are supposedly in a post-racial era, racist thoughts and actions still exist. Simply projecting in-group or

out-group membership with the name manipulation in this study influenced how participants responded to the comedy material, and persisted to influence their reactions to the alleged offenders in the judicial review scenarios.

The race-based comedy segments prompted the higher Latino identifiers to sense an in-group threat, suggesting the strength (high versus low) of participants' racial identification impacts responses to media content featuring in-groups and out-groups. High Latino identifiers were more likely to focus on the stereotypicality of the race-based comedy segments as well. Given that high Latino identifiers hold their Latino in-group identity primary to their overall self-concept and since stereotypes are simplistic and fail to depict diversity within groups, it is not surprising that high identifiers reacted this way. The tendency to maintain positive in-group identity, especially with primary identities like race and ethnicity, holds great power to influence responses to even supposedly light-hearted, comedic stereotype performances. Although some Latinos self-identify with in-group culture collectively, the current study implicates the need for further teasing out differences even among high and low racial in-group identifiers. Among low Latino identifiers, a self-distancing process was evident to where other personal identities, such as class or acculturation level, competed with racial in-group social identity. The social identity process undoubtedly manifests individually, even though specific in-group memberships (racial and ethnic in particular) are presumed salient particularly for racial minority group members.

Though the higher Latino identifiers rated the race-based comedy as more stereotypical, Latino participants overall found the comedian's race important in how

enjoyable they rated the material. Participants were more open to race-based comedy when the comedian telling the jokes was perceived to be a Latino in-group member, which demonstrates the effectiveness of the comedian's race manipulation. In an intragroup context, it is more acceptable for in-group comedians to perform race-based comedy about in-groups. This finding is quite striking since such controversial, explicit material is often found in "frontstage" media entertainment settings widely accessible to diverse audiences, not limited to in-group members. In other words, the potential for misconceptions or stereotype adherence is alarming for media consumers who perhaps lack contact with the groups stereotypically depicted, or simply are not critical enough to recognize the stereotypes as simplistic, homogenizing portrayals. Overall, audience and performer variables are crucial to how race-based comedy is interpreted. For example, the comedian's position as a successful joke-teller in the mass media could override any potential in-group threat, despite invoking derogatory in-group humor. Perhaps in-group similarity trumps comedians' content choices, as in-group members may read a comedian as successful by virtue of performing in the media, which supports a positive in-group identity.

Turning to the intergroup context, perhaps a most striking finding of this study is that the high Latino identifiers reacted more harshly towards the White out-group alleged offender in the judicial review scenarios after they evaluated the race-based comedy segments targeting their own racial in-group. Indeed entertainment race-based media comedy on television, particularly race-based comedy, holds great potential to impact social judgments. In fact, the priming manipulation of the comedian's race and

the alleged offenders' race were successful in that the mere exposure to derogatory race-based comedy in the first study portion influenced participants' social judgments in a discriminatory manner in the second study portion. With such representations more readily accessible upon evaluation of the crime scenarios, the high Latino identifiers employed a defensive strategy to preserve their positive in-group identity by rating the out-group (White) offenders higher on guilt. Again, the tendency to preserve a positive in-group status motivates in-group members to respond favorably towards the in-group, even to the detriment of an out-group. Entertainment media with stereotypes couched in humor are not simply interpreted as harmless, playful jokes; there can be real-world condemnations of representative out-group members upon priming. Intergroup comparisons ultimately favor the in-group and simultaneously serve to enhance in-group self-esteem, even if it means making downward social comparisons with target out-group(s). It is not surprising the high Latino identifiers engaged more in implicit intergroup comparing, since it is typically group members with strong in-group identity who experience more frustration when confronted with in-group insults.

Words and images, particularly in the context of race-based comedy, contribute to intergroup hatred by perpetuating differences as essentialist and irreconcilable. As this study demonstrates, those words and jokes *do* hurt because they have an influence on how people respond to out-group members in real-world scenarios where judgments are made. This study's intragroup and intergroup findings demonstrate that implicit race-based attitudes persist into real-world judgments, at least in the short-term with media primes, which is contrary to the "it's just a joke" argument popular racial minority

comedians like Mencia make. Mencia once stated that violence begets violence and wars create more wars (Bergheim & Macias, 1994), which is a somewhat contradictory assertion especially in light of the type of comedy he has carved out his fame with: explicit, simplistic race-based stereotypes. As Reicher (2010) points out, "hatred is a product of what we choose to do. Hatred does not 'just happen,' hatred is broadcast and promoted and embraced" (p. 169). The tendency to recall stereotypical information can be powerful, especially when one does not have routine contact with out-group members, and most widespread knowledge persists through negative media stereotypes. Racist attitudes are perpetuated with the prevalent use of subtle or blatant racial and ethnic stereotypes by diverse comedians in "frontstage" entertainment media settings.

Overall, this dissertation research makes several major contributions to existing literature at the intersections of media priming and race-based stereotype comedy in entertainment television programming. First, this study examined media racial priming within the entertainment television content, more specifically, race-based stereotypes in comedy, which remains largely unexplored in existing literature to date. Future research should explore media effects in entertainment comedy further, as even short-term priming effects have the potential to influence the intensity of real-world judgments when presented with the opportunity. A worthwhile venture would be to determine whether more subtle types of stereotype comedy present with similar effects. More exhaustive studies of priming content would contribute to a better understanding of which types of comedy material impact subsequent real-world judgments the most and in which directions those judgments sway. Whether less controversial comedy material

results in different judicial judgments remains to be seen. Also, whether simply talking about race is racist remains a priority for future work in this area. When exposed to race-based comedy, regardless of how funny audience members find it, they may still tend to judge others differentially even outside of the comedy context albeit in subtle, subconscious ways. Clearly different audiences take away different messages, implying a need for more fine-tuned media effects theories for in-groups and out-groups. Media have the potential to perpetuate stereotypes, educate, and entertain.

Second, this study employed a racial minority sample, Latinos, which addresses a major gap in current research because most media priming research has focused on the reactions of White participants to racial primes in contexts outside of entertainment media. Considering how racial minorities respond to their own in-group race-based stereotypes in comedy and the impacts on in-group and out-group perceptions and subsequent (inter)actions remains a priority for future research. Importantly, this study is among the first few to focus on a racial minority group, and not simply assume that racial identification is a primary identity to all racial minority group members. Though this study distinguished between high and low Latino in-group identifiers, a clear implication is that it is worthwhile to distinguish identity salience beyond high and low designations in future work. Treating a racial group as heterogeneous is a unique contribution to the literature, as heterogeneity within groups can be powerful, but measuring racial identification level with two levels (high and low) may not fully capture within-group diversity. For example, future studies considering participants' racial or ethnic group identification salience should consider a bicultural status in

addition to the high and low identifiers, among other levels of acculturation (especially for Latinos), and other demographics like nationality and class status. A more nuanced approach to audience variables overall is warranted since surely other personal and social identities compete with one's racial or ethnic in-group position.

Another area of future research entails exploring priming effects when Latinos (or other racial minority groups) are presented with out-group but non-White comedians performing racial in-group (Latino) jokes in entertainment media. The world is becoming increasingly diverse and popular race-based comedy may impact more than just the in-group's (Latinos) interactions with members of the dominant out-group (Whites). In other words, does out-group derogation occur, even when the comedian is still a racial minority group member (though not an in-group member for the participants)? Considering a comedian's gender in addition to racial identification would lead to a better understanding of whether female comedians of color are permitted the same sort of comedic freedom as male comedians of color to make in-group and out-group race-based jokes. Finally, another area for future research includes more attention to how other media are used to counter stereotypical, demeaning race-based comedy and whether this activism is meaningful, critical social commentary in race-based comedy interpretations by diverse audiences.

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APPENDIX A

PRETEST 1 –NAMES AND ETHNIC IDENTITY QUESTIONNAIRE

Instructions:
Please choose a response following each question. Your responses are anonymous and voluntary. No identifying information will be linked to your responses. Please base your responses on the first impression that comes to mind. You will receive class credit upon completion of this survey.

Please choose from the options listed after each question.

1. When you see the name Tatiana Parker, which racial or ethnic group do you think Tatiana most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

2. When you see the name Frank Johnson, which racial or ethnic group do you think Frank most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

3. When you see the name Xinchuan Liu, which racial or ethnic group do you think he most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American

- Other (please specify)

4. When you see the name Darnell Dixon, which racial or ethnic group do you think Darnell most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

5. When you see the name Stephanie Lee, which racial or ethnic group do you think Stephanie most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

6. When you see the name Charlie Smith, which racial or ethnic group do you think Charlie most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

7. When you see the name Juan Rodriguez, which racial or ethnic group do you think Juan most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

8. When you see the name Aisha Carter, which racial or ethnic group do you think Aisha most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

9. When you see the name David Tran, which racial or ethnic group do you think David most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

10. When you see the name Miguel Reyes, which racial or ethnic group do you think Miguel most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

11. When you see the name Omar Taylor, which racial or ethnic group do you think Omar most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

12. When you see the name Thu Nguyen, which racial or ethnic group do you think Thu most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

13. When you see the name Lauren Chapman, which racial or ethnic group do you think Lauren most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

14. When you see the name Albert Diaz, which racial or ethnic group do you think Albert most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

15. When you see the name Matthew Richards, which racial or ethnic group do you think Matthew most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

16. When you see the name Jennifer Mills, which racial or ethnic group do you think Jennifer most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

17. When you see the name Tyrone Jackson, which racial or ethnic group do you think Tyrone most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

18. When you see the name Theresa Garcia, which racial or ethnic group do you think Theresa most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

19. When you see the name Byron Thomas, which racial or ethnic group do you think Byron most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

20. When you see the name Melissa Flores, which racial or ethnic group do you think Melissa most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

21. When you see the name John Rodgers, which racial or ethnic group do you think John most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

22. When you see the name Congpu Yao, which racial or ethnic group do you think Congpu most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

23. When you see the name Carlos Sanchez, which racial or ethnic group do you think Carlos most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

24. When you see the name Steven Huang, which racial or ethnic group do you think Steven most likely belongs to?

- African American
- Asian, Asian American and/or Pacific Islander
- White
- Latino/Hispanic
- Mixed race
- Native American
- Other (please specify)

You have completed the survey in its entirety. Please copy and paste the link below into a separate internet window. This is the link to a separate page where you will input your name and course information for extra credit. Thank you!

http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/QBN6WG7

APPENDIX B

PRETEST 2 – COMEDY IMPRESSIONS QUESTIONNAIRE

Session No: _____ (for official use only)

COMEDY IMPRESSIONS PRE-TEST QUESTIONNAIRE

Please turn the page to begin the survey. Thank you.

You will be reading comedy scripts under consideration for production by a local television channel.

The comedy script is divided into several segments. Your honest opinions about the enjoyability and funniness of each segment is greatly appreciated. Your inputs will help us determine which joke segments would work best with a diverse audience.

INSTRUCTIONS: In the following pages, there are segments of comedic content that are being considered for use in an entire TV show. Please read through each segment and then answer the questions that follow each section, as well as the questions that follow at the very end. Please feel free to be candidly open and honest in your evaluation. Your responses are anonymous and confidential.

SEGMENT 1

SCRIPT: Going back to the whole border issue again, it's not like we don't hear this stuff in the news all the time, all the commentators talking about it. What does this mean to our country? How can we best manage our borders? What's happening to our Americans?

But it's not a geographical thing, let's get that out of the way right now. I think anybody can come to America. Dude, you see, we have everybody in this country. So obviously, you can get here! You know what I mean?

So I'm saying, hey, don't cry, come here. That's all I'm saying.

I don't feel sorry for people living in crappy places. You know, I see some pictures of some people in the Middle East, and it's all brown, there's no water, there's no vegetation, and even the camels have this look like, [IMITATING MIDDLE EASTERN ACCENT] "Man, we need to get the hell out of here."

And I see people in the back and I'm thinking, "C'mon, man, move, man, move!!!"

Yeah, see, some of the people are like, "Oh, man, that's mean."

No, no, no, no. It doesn't matter where you come from. I don't feel sorry for rednecks who get hit by tornadoes every year, [HITS HEAD WITH MICROPHONE, ROLLS EYES] when they live in tornado alley!

Do you understand that? You're a jackass! MOVE! You can come in here and… [EXAGGERATED SOUTHERN RURAL ACCENT] "I got hit by a tornad-errrr again!!"

Of course you did! You live in [SHAKING ARMS BACK AND FORTH, AS THOUGH SHAKING SOMEONE], tornado alley! It's telling you, "I'm coming riiiight here [MOTIONING TO A SPECIFIC POINT WITH HANDS]!!!!"

Dumbass, move! I don't feel sorry for you.

"We got hit by a tornad-er!" [IMITATING SOUTHERN RURAL ACCENT]

Well, move, jackass. It's not even that difficult to move…

Your house has wheels! [ROLLING EYES, MAKING GOOFY FACES, HANDS MOTIONING LIKE WHEELS TURNING]

[END OF SEGMENT]

Please answer the following questions about the segment that you just read:

Is this segment enjoyable? Yes Maybe No

It is original? Yes Maybe No

Is it offensive? Yes Maybe No

How funny were the jokes presented by the comedian you just read?

Not at all funny 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely funny

How witty were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all witty 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely witty

How creative were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all creative 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely creative

How offensive were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all offensive 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely offensive

To what extent did the jokes presented depict ethnic groups in a stereotyped manner?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

To what extent did the jokes presented (implicitly or explicitly) depict ethnic groups in a demeaning or negative way?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

What are the reasons why this segment should be included in the script?

_____

_____

What are the reasons why this segment should be removed from the script?

_____

_____

SEGMENT 2

SCRIPT: Well, speaking of those kinds of things, ethnic hierarchies, [LAUGHS AND TURNS AWAY FROM CAMERA]…

I saw something the other day I thought was unbelievable. I don't know if you all know this, but they opened up, in Burbank, California, a little center for the wetbacks to hang out in front of the Home Depot, across the street.

Yes! So they don't have to stand in the rain, it's got a little kitchen, and an office. The wetbacks are spoiled right there.

[IMITATING MEXICAN ACCENT WITH POOR ENGLISH]

Hey, why don't you go outside?

[IMITATING MEXICAN ACCENTED ENGLISH, MAKING HAND GESTURE UPWARDS, MOTIONING TO INDOOR OFFICE, MAKING A SMUG LOOK]

I don't have to, I'm inside the office.

They got a little drive through. You show up, and they're like, "What do you need?"

[IMITATING SOUTHERN RURAL ACCENT] "Um, uh, I need three people to do my roofing…"

[IMITATING MEXICAN ACCENT] "No problem!"

"We need three Mexicans, let's go, get in the car!"

[WALKING WITH A SMUG STRUT]

[IMITATING MEXICAN ACCENT]

"Welcome to Juan in the Box, can I get your order, please?"

"I need two guys to do tile."

"Two Mexicans, get in the car, let's go!"

"Welcome to Raul's, can I take your order please?"

"Yeah, I need somebody to clean my port-a-potty."

"Uh, send the guy from El Salvador! Yeah, c'mon, let's go."

[GASPS, PUTS HAND OVER HIS MOUTH]

The White people are like, "What? Oh my god."

And the Mexicans are like, “Yeah! We no gonna do that, we no gonna do that, El Salvador! Nicaragua, go, go, go!”

Because there are hierarchies. There’s not just beaners, there are levels, like White people.

There’s White people, then there’s what? Der-dicka-der-dicka-der-der-der… [HITS HEAD WITH MICROPHONE, COCKS HEAD TO THE SIDE, MAKING CROSS EYES AS THOUGH MENTALLY RETARDED]

Just a different White person!

Asians, you know, this is a big Asian city! Nobody knows more than you. If you’re Chinese, you’re on top. If you’re Vietnamese, you’re pretty much the n***** of that community. [SHRUGS SHOULDERS]

Oh, and the Chinese people are going, [IMITATING CHINESE ACCENT WITH POOR ENGLISH] “Oh, how does he know dis?”

And if you’re a Filipino, then you’re the beaner of the Asian community. [NODDING HIS HEAD, POINTING AT AUDIENCE]

Because you’re indigenous people that got banged by some Spaniards. That’s why you have names like Kuang Ping Del Toro.

What the… What?!

What do you mean Kuang Ping Del Toro? How does that work out?

[END OF SEGMENT]

Please answer the following questions about the segment that you just read:

Is this segment enjoyable? Yes Maybe No

It is original? Yes Maybe No

Is it offensive? Yes Maybe No

How funny were the jokes presented by the comedian you just read?

Not at all funny 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely funny

How witty were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all witty 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely witty

How creative were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all creative 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely creative

How offensive were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all offensive 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely offensive

To what extent did the jokes presented depict ethnic groups in a stereotyped manner?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

To what extent did the jokes presented (implicitly or explicitly) depict ethnic groups in a demeaning or negative way?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

What are the reasons why this segment should be included in the script?

_____

_____

What are the reasons why this segment should be removed from the script?

_____

_____

SEGMENT 3

SCRIPT: Well, going back to our ethnic sensitivity in this country…

I want to apologize up front for all the people I am thoroughly about to offend.

Some of you don't get it right now, but you'll get it in about ten minutes when all your friends are laughing their asses off, and you're there going, "He sucks!!!"

People are sensitive, man, and I'm not. I believe in freedom of speech!

I believe we're supposed to have fun. Don't hurt anybody's feelings, but if it happens, then hey, c'mon. Enjoy yourself man!

You can't have feelings in American anymore. You notice that?

No, man, if Sept. 11 taught me anything, it's enjoy your life, it's short, it can end at any moment.

Like for Halloween, I had fun. I gave the kids powdered doughnuts.

See, there's an Asian lady right there. I know she's Asian because that's what we have to call her, even though she comes from the Orient.

Did I name it the Orient? No.

Did you name it the Orient? No.

That's what they call it, the Orient. Come and fly to the Orient!

But when we call them Oriental, it's like, "I am NOT Oriental!!!"

Ah, settle down.

"Oriental is food, Oriental is a rug!!!"

"I was close, man, I get partial credit. It's not like I called you a Black midget."

Here's the part of the show when people want to know, why do you get angry?

People want to know why I get mad, well here's why.

You're saying that people who come from the same genetic pool don't look alike.

You're hypocrites!

If that's the case, being that there's mongoloids, and all these other types of people…

You're telling me that if I brought two Black people up here, then you would be able to differentiate which region of Africa each of them hails from based on their melanin content, skin pigmentation, cranial structure, and nasal opening. Would you?

Or would you look at them and go, "C'mon, they're from Brooklyn!" [SHRUGS SHOULDERS]

What would you do? What would you do? Then shut up!

It's like with Hispanics, if you weren't born in Mexico, but you live in California, or Texas, you're a Mexican and it doesn't matter what you say. You're a Mexican, even if you really come from Honduras or Guatemala or Puerto Rico or El Salvador!

See, White people, everywhere they go, they're just White. When you go to Denver, you're White, when you go to L.A., you're White, and when you go to Miami, you're still White! You don't understand that!

When Hispanics are in the southwest, they're Mexican, but when they go to Florida, they're Cuban! [THROWS UP HIS HANDS AND POINTS]

Do you get it? What happened?!

[END OF SEGMENT]

Please answer the following questions about the segment that you just read:

Is this segment enjoyable? Yes Maybe No

It is original? Yes Maybe No

Is it offensive? Yes Maybe No

How funny were the jokes presented by the comedian you just read?

Not at all funny 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely funny

How witty were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all witty 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely witty

How creative were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all creative 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely creative

How offensive were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all offensive 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely offensive

To what extent did the jokes presented depict ethnic groups in a stereotyped manner?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

To what extent did the jokes presented (implicitly or explicitly) depict ethnic groups in a demeaning or negative way?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

What are the reasons why this segment should be included in the script?

_____

_____

What are the reasons why this segment should be removed from the script?

_____

_____

Thank you for sharing your thoughts about each of the comedy segments. Next, could you please answer some questions about your overall impressions about this comedian and this show in general?

About the Comedian

How likeable did you find the comedian?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

This comedian is interesting.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

This comedian is funny.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

This comedian is offensive.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

About the Show

How much did you enjoy the comedic material?

Did not enjoy at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Enjoyed very much

How much would you like to see the entire comedic material?

Definitely would not 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Definitely would like to see

How much did you enjoy the subject matter of the comedic material?

Did not enjoy at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Enjoyed very much

How good was the comedic material?

Not at all good 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely good

How exciting was the comedic material?

Not at all exciting 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely exciting

How much did you like the acting in the comedic material?

Did not like at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Liked very much

Does this material sound original to you over all?

What are your thoughts about the script?

_____

_____

What are the reasons this show would be successful?

_____

_____

What are the reasons this show would be unsuccessful?

_____

_____

Which segments did you find most funny?

_____

_____

Which segments did you remember?

_____

_____

In the space below, please write at least one sentence regarding your reaction(s) to what you have just completed. Feel free to write anything you wish.

_____

_____

_____

_____

This completes the pre-test questionnaire materials.

Please proceed to turn this packet in to the facilitator.

Thank you for your time and participation!

APPENDIX C

SIX COMEDY SEGMENTS

"Geographic Borders"

SCRIPT: Going back to the whole border issue again, it's not like we don't hear this stuff in the news all the time, all the commentators talking about it. What does this mean to our country? How can we best manage our borders? What's happening to our Americans?

But it's not a geographical thing, let's get that out of the way right now. I think anybody can come to America. Dude, you see, we have everybody in this country. So obviously, you can get here! You know what I mean?

So I'm saying, hey, don't cry, come here. That's all I'm saying.

I don't feel sorry for people living in crappy places. You know, I see some pictures of some people in the Middle East, and it's all brown, there's no water, there's no vegetation, and even the camels have this look like, [IMITATING MIDDLE EASTERN ACCENT] "Man, we need to get the hell out of here."

And I see people in the back and I'm thinking, "C'mon, man, move, man, move!!!"

Yeah, see, some of the people are like, "Oh, man, that's mean."

No, no, no, no. It doesn't matter where you come from. I don't feel sorry for rednecks who get hit by tornadoes every year, [HITS HEAD WITH MICROPHONE, ROLLS EYES] when they live in tornado alley!

Do you understand that? You're a jackass! MOVE! You can come in here and… [EXAGGERATED SOUTHERN RURAL ACCENT] "I got hit by a tornad-errrr again!!"

Of course you did! You live in [SHAKING ARMS BACK AND FORTH, AS THOUGH SHAKING SOMEONE], tornado alley! It's telling you, "I'm coming riiiight here [MOTIONING TO A SPECIFIC POINT WITH HANDS]!!!!"

Dumbass, move! I don't feel sorry for you.

"We got hit by a tornad-er!" [IMITATING SOUTHERN RURAL ACCENT]
Well, move, jackass. It's not even that difficult to move…
Your house has wheels! [ROLLING EYES, MAKING GOOFY FACES, HANDS MOTIONING LIKE WHEELS TURNING]
[END OF SEGMENT]

"Ethnic Hierarchies"

SCRIPT: Well, speaking of those kinds of things, ethnic hierarchies, [LAUGHS AND TURNS AWAY FROM CAMERA]…
I saw something the other day I thought was unbelievable. I don't know if you all know this, but they opened up, in Burbank, California, a little center for the wetbacks to hang out in front of the Home Depot, across the street.
Yes! So they don't have to stand in the rain, it's got a little kitchen, and an office. The wetbacks are spoiled right there.
[IMITATING MEXICAN ACCENT WITH POOR ENGLISH]
Hey, why don't you go outside?
[IMITATING MEXICAN ACCENTED ENGLISH, MAKING HAND GESTURE UPWARDS, MOTIONING TO INDOOR OFFICE, MAKING A SMUG LOOK]
I don't have to, I'm inside the office.
They got a little drive through. You show up, and they're like, "What do you need?"
[IMITATING SOUTHERN RURAL ACCENT] "Um, uh, I need three people to do my roofing…"
[IMITATING MEXICAN ACCENT] "No problem!"
"We need three Mexicans, let's go, get in the car!"
[WALKING WITH A SMUG STRUT]
[IMITATING MEXICAN ACCENT]
"Welcome to Juan in the Box, can I get your order, please?"

"I need two guys to do tile."

"Two Mexicans, get in the car, let's go!"

"Welcome to Raul's, can I take your order please?"

"Yeah, I need somebody to clean my port-a-potty."

"Uh, send the guy from El Salvador! Yeah, c'mon, let's go."

[GASPS, PUTS HAND OVER HIS MOUTH]

The White people are like, "What? Oh my god."

And the Mexicans are like, "Yeah! We no gonna do that, we no gonna do that, El Salvador! Nicaragua, go, go, go!"

Because there are hierarchies. There's not just beaners, there are levels, like White people.

There's White people, then there's what? Der-dicka-der-dicka-der-der-der… [HITS HEAD WITH MICROPHONE, COCKS HEAD TO THE SIDE, MAKING CROSS EYES AS THOUGH MENTALLY RETARDED]

Just a different White person!

Asians, you know, this is a big Asian city! Nobody knows more than you. If you're Chinese, you're on top. If you're Vietnamese, you're pretty much the n***** of that community. [SHRUGS SHOULDERS]

Oh, and the Chinese people are going, [IMITATING CHINESE ACCENT WITH POOR ENGLISH] "Oh, how does he know dis?"

And if you're a Filipino, then you're the beaner of the Asian community. [NODDING HIS HEAD, POINTING AT AUDIENCE]

Because you're indigenous people that got banged by some Spaniards. That's why you have names like Kuang Ping Del Toro.

What the… What?!

What do you mean Kuang Ping Del Toro? How does that work out?

[END OF SEGMENT]

“Ethnic Sensitivity”

SCRIPT: Well, going back to our ethnic sensitivity in this country…
I want to apologize up front for all the people I am thoroughly about to offend.
Some of you don’t get it right now, but you’ll get it in about ten minutes when all your friends are laughing their asses off, and you’re there going, “He sucks!!!”
People are sensitive, man, and I’m not. I believe in freedom of speech!
I believe we’re supposed to have fun. Don’t hurt anybody’s feelings, but if it happens, then hey, c’mon. Enjoy yourself man!
You can’t have feelings in American anymore. You notice that?
No, man, if Sept. 11 taught me anything, it’s enjoy your life, it’s short, it can end at any moment.
Like for Halloween, I had fun. I gave the kids powdered doughnuts.
See, there’s an Asian lady right there. I know she’s Asian because that’s what we have to call her, even though she comes from the Orient.
Did I name it the Orient? No.
Did you name it the Orient? No.
That’s what they call it, the Orient. Come and fly to the Orient!
But when we call them Oriental, it’s like, “I am NOT Oriental!!!”
Ah, settle down.
“Oriental is food, Oriental is a rug!!!”
“I was close, man, I get partial credit. It’s not like I called you a Black midget.”
Here’s the part of the show when people want to know, why do you get angry?
People want to know why I get mad, well here’s why.
You’re saying that people who come from the same genetic pool don’t look alike.
You’re hypocrites!
If that’s the case, being that there’s mongoloids, and all these other types of people…
You’re telling me that if I brought two Black people up here, then you would be able to

differentiate which region of Africa each of them hails from based on their melanin content, skin pigmentation, cranial structure, and nasal opening. Would you?
Or would you look at them and go, "C'mon, they're from Brooklyn!" [SHRUGS SHOULDERS]
What would you do? What would you do? Then shut up!
It's like with Hispanics, if you weren't born in Mexico, but you live in California, or Texas, you're a Mexican and it doesn't matter what you say. You're a Mexican, even if you really come from Honduras or Guatemala or Puerto Rico or El Salvador!
See, White people, everywhere they go, they're just White. When you go to Denver, you're White, when you go to L.A., you're White, and when you go to Miami, you're still White! You don't understand that!
When Hispanics are in the southwest, they're Mexican, but when they go to Florida, they're Cuban! [THROWS UP HIS HANDS AND POINTS]
Do you get it? What happened?!
[END OF SEGMENT]

"California Law"

SCENARIO: [In a conversation with a friend, Juan begins talking about a story he heard on the news just the other day about a law that was proposed in California. After discussing the implications of the law, Juan goes on a rant about his personal opinion concerning the absurdity of the supposed new law.]

SCRIPT: Do you know what they said in California? This is what they said and I heard it on C-SPAN.
"We propose that we kick all of the illegal aliens out of this country. Then, we build a super fence so they can't get back in."
Then I went [RAISING HIS HAND, SMIRKING], "Um, who's going to build it?"

If the wetbacks are gone, there goes the workforce.
What we should do is build a fence first, and *then* kick 'em out. They're already near the border, so when they're finished, just go [MOTIONING AS THOUGH PUSHING ANOTHER PERSON], "Ah, this side looks perfect!" [PUSHING PERSON TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE BORDER]
"How does the other side look?"
"I don't know, let me go check."
And when they cross, *poof*, "Close the doors!"
[EXAGGERATED MEXICAN ACCENT] "Awww, they trick us, they trick us!"
"But, aye, it looks good on this side, too, it looks good on this side too."
[END OF SEGMENT]

"U.S. Army"

SCRIPT: Speaking of the border, I don't understand why anybody would attack us. I don't even get it. Why do you think Iran helped us out after Sept. 11? Do you think they like us?
Go to the internet and see the things that were written by Iranian people about us on September 10. You see some heinous stuff.
But then 9/11 happened, and our president came out, and he spoke like Clint Eastwood at the end of Unforgiven. He was like, "If anybody shoots at me, I will shoot you. I will hunt you down and I will kill you, and your friend, and I will burn your barn down. We will find you, those who helped, those who obeyed, those who looked at you…"
As soon as he [president] said that, we got a phone call from Iran.
[MOTIONING AS THOUGH HOLDING A PHONE] "What can we do to help you, my friend?" [IMITATING IRANIAN ACCENTED ENGLISH] We were talking smack yesterday! You didn't believe any of that, c'mon… We try to tell joke, we are not funny people. We apologize!"

Don't you get it? America has the best of every country, every world. It's all already here.

Do you ever hear about aliens going to any other country?

All the best come here. They're here.

I can't even believe some people are like, "Man, I hope we can win some wars."

Didn't you realize that, one day we were going to Afghanistan, and then the next day, poof, we were already there?

How did that happen? How did it happen?

They didn't even let us cross their borders, but that's because we *have* people in this country, who *know* how to cross borders illegally. That's us! We got the best! We're awesome!

Even the Taliban was like, "Where in the hell did they go?"

We were bad ass! They turned around and all their tanks were on blocks.

"Where are my tires? Where did my tires go? Call the general of the radio… They took the freakin' radio?!" [IMITATING MIDDLE EASTERN ACCENTED ENGLISH]

We have people here who know what to do and how to do things in the military!

A tank is meant to drive and shoot with a terd that shoots at 360 degrees. You know what that is? It's a drive-by! We got Ray-Ray in there, like, "Hell yeah, *pop, pop, pop, pop*!"

Pop, pop, pop! USA, brotha, USA! [IMITATING AFRICAN AMERICAN ACCENT]

We're crazy! We have crazy White people that will… oh my god.

We got a beaner that will stab you. We got a Black guy that will shoot you. We got a crazy White guy that will eat you. That's our army, ladies and gentlemen.

"Ho, ho, you ain't talkin' now, are ya, boy?" [LEANING DOWN, MAKING EATING MOTION WITH HANDS, IMITATING SOUTHERN RURAL ACCENT]

And we got the Asians in reserve.

Settle down, crouching tiger, you're next! You're next!

[END OF SEGMENT]

"On Edge"

SCRIPT: That's the one thing people always say to me…
Don't say stuff that's too on the edge, Juan.
So what does that mean?
Peoples' feelings are going to get hurt.
I don't care. A soldier tonight is dying so we can have freedom of speech in this country. The least you could do is exercise it, you p#$$%.
People are goofy, they don't want to talk about what they *feel* anymore. We're so scared, we're so scared. What are people going to say about me?
So I'm gonna be *politically correct.* [MOCKING TONE OF VOICE, HEAD NODDING]
Like the minutemen, you've heard of those guys.
[MOCKING SOUTHERN RURAL ACCENT] "Um, we're here at the Mexican border protecting our country, because terrorists might cross that border, and we need to make sure that that's not gonna occur."
You love this country so much and you want to secure this border from terrorists?
[MOCKING SOUTHERN RURAL ACCENT] "Um, yes sir."
Then you need to leave the Mexican border and go to Canada, because that's where those 19 highjackers crossed, you piece of s#$%. Get your ass up there! [POINTING TO THE CAMERA/AUDIENCE] Leave the wetbacks alone and get your ass up there! [STILL POINTING, MOTIONING BACK AND FORTH, SHOWING OPPOSITE BORDERS]
Leave the wetbacks alone and go mess with the frostbacks! [CANADIANS]
Let the Mexicans patrol the border….
And I know you're like, "What are you talking about, Juan?"
Look at me. Do you wanna know who doesn't want Middle Eastern terrorists crossing that border?

Wetbacks south of the border.

Because as soon as one guy crosses that border and blows something up in this country, do you know what's gonna happen?

We will close the border down, and put up military, and then nobody will cross. Know who knows that?

Mexicans in Mexico! They know that. That's why in recent months, that's why five groups of illegal aliens of Middle Eastern descent tried to cross the Mexican border and they all got caught! [POINTING AT AUDIENCE]

You know how they got caught?

As soon as they crossed the border, the wetbacks went up to immigration and said, [IMITATING MEXICAN ACCENT WITH POOR ENGLISH] "Hey, señor, señor, they no speak-a Spanish."

[END OF SEGMENT]

APPENDIX D

PRETEST 3 – ENJOYMENT OF COMEDY QUESTIONNAIRE

WELCOME TO THE ENJOYMENT OF COMEDY SHOWS SURVEY!

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this survey research project.

Please feel free to express your honest opinions in the survey. There are no right or wrong answers. Your information will remain anonymous. Your responses will not be linked to your identity in any way. Please DO NOT write your name or any other identifying information on this form. Please do not talk to anyone during the session. Make sure your cell phone is off. Texting is not allowed during the session.

You will be completing three main sections in the survey:

Part 1: Media Habits
Part 2: Comedy Script Impression Form
Part 3: Demographic Information

Part 1: Media Habits

In the following section, please complete the questions about your typical media habits, as well as your basic demographic information. Please fill in the information needed in as much detail as possible.

1.) How many TV sets do you have in your home?

a) 1
b) 2
c) 3
d) 4 or more

2.) How many TV sets do you own in your home, with cable?

a) 1
b) 2
c) 3
d) 4 or more

3.) How many hours of TV do you watch on a typical weekday (Monday – Friday)?

_____

4.) How many hours of TV do you watch on a typical weekend (Saturday or Sunday)?

_____

5.) What are your favorite TV channels?

_____

6.) Please list the five TV programs you try not to miss each week (NOTE: These do not necessarily have to be from your favorite TV channels):

1.) _____

2.) _____

3.) _____

4.) _____

5.) _____

7.) What types of programming do you watch most often? Circle all that apply. Then, please indicate your level of enjoyment for each in the scale provided.

	Enjoy very much	Enjoy	Neutral	Don't Enjoy	Don't enjoy at all
a) News & current affairs	1	2	3	4	5
b) Movies/mini-series	1	2	3	4	5
c) Children's programming	1	2	3	4	5
d) Drama	1	2	3	4	5
e) Soap operas	1	2	3	4	5
f) Sports	1	2	3	4	5
g) Comedy	1	2	3	4	5
h) Music	1	2	3	4	5
i) Reality shows	1	2	3	4	5
j) Elimination Games	1	2	3	4	5
k) Game Shows	1	2	3	4	5
l) Talk Shows	1	2	3	4	5
m) Other _____	1	2	3	4	5

8.) What other types of media do you use regularly? Please indicate how much you use each on a typical day, week, or month as applicable.

a) Internet	Times you use per day	_____
b) Magazines and/or newspapers	Times you use per month	_____
c) Radio	Times you use per week	_____
d) Other (please specify) _____		

Part 2: Comedy Script Impression Form

In the next section, you will be reading a comedy script under consideration for production by a local television channel.

The comedy script is divided into different segments. Your honest opinions about the enjoyability and funniness of each segment is greatly appreciated. Your inputs will help us determine which joke segments would work best with a diverse audience.

SEGMENT A

SCRIPT:

Well, speaking of those kinds of things, ethnic hierarchies, [LAUGHS AND TURNS AWAY FROM CAMERA]

I saw something the other day I thought was unbelievable. I don't know if you all know this, but they opened up, in

Burbank, California, a little center for the wetbacks to hang out in front of the Home Depot, across the street.

Yes! So they don't have to stand in the rain, it's got a little kitchen, and an office. The wetbacks are spoiled right there.

[IMITATING MEXICAN ACCENT WITH POOR ENGLISH]

Hey, why don't you go outside?

[IMITATING MEXICAN ACCENTED ENGLISH, MAKING HAND GESTURE UPWARDS, MOTIONING TO INDOOR

OFFICE, MAKING A SMUG LOOK]

I don't have to, I'm inside the office.

They got a little drive through. You show up, and they're like, "What do you need?"

[IMITATING SOUTHERN RURAL ACCENT] "Um, uh, I need three people to do my roofing…"

[IMITATING MEXICAN ACCENT] "No problem!"

"We need three Mexicans, let's go, get in the car!"

[WALKING WITH A SMUG STRUT]

[IMITATING MEXICAN ACCENT]

"Welcome to Juan in the Box, can I get your order, please?"

"I need two guys to do tile."

"Two Mexicans, get in the car, let's go!"

"Welcome to Raul's, can I take your order please?"

"Yeah, I need somebody to clean my port-a-potty."

"Uh, send the guy from El Salvador! Yeah, c'mon, let's go."

[GASPS, PUTS HAND OVER HIS MOUTH]

The White people are like, "What? Oh my god."

And the Mexicans are like, "Yeah! We no gonna do that, we no gonna do that, El Salvador! Nicaragua, go, go, go!"

Because there are hierarchies. There's not just beaners, there are levels, like White people.

There's White people, then there's what? Der-dicka-der-dicka-der-der-der… [HITS HEAD WITH MICROPHONE, COCKS

HEAD TO THE SIDE, MAKING CROSS EYES AS THOUGH MENTALLY RETARDED]

Just a different White person!

Asians, you know, this is a big Asian city! Nobody knows more than you. If you're Chinese, you're on top. If you're Vietnamese, you're pretty much the n***** of that community. [SHRUGS SHOULDERS]

Oh, and the Chinese people are going, [IMITATING CHINESE ACCENT WITH POOR ENGLISH] "Oh, how does he know dis?"

And if you're a Filipino, then you're the beaner of the Asian community. [NODDING HIS HEAD, POINTING AT AUDIENCE]

Because you're indigenous people that got banged by some Spaniards. That's why you have names like Kuang Ping Del Toro.

What the… What?!

What do you mean Kuang Ping Del Toro? How does that work out?

[END OF SEGMENT]

Please answer the following questions about the segment that you just read:

1.) Is this segment enjoyable? Yes Maybe No

2.) It is original? Yes Maybe No

3.) Is it offensive? Yes Maybe No

4.) How funny were the jokes presented by the comedian you just read?

Not at all funny 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely funny

5.) How witty were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all witty 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely witty

6.) How creative were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all creative 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely creative

7.) How offensive were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all offensive 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely offensive

8.) To what extent did the jokes presented depict ethnic groups in a stereotyped manner?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

9.) To what extent did the jokes presented (implicitly or explicitly) depict ethnic groups in a demeaning or negative way?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

10.) What are the reasons why this segment should be included in the script?

_____

_____

11.) What are the reasons why this segment should be removed from the script?

_____

_____

SEGMENT B

SCENARIO: [In a conversation with a friend, the comedian begins talking about a story he heard on the news just the other day about a law that was proposed in California. After discussing the implications of the law, he goes on a rant about his personal opinion concerning the absurdity of the supposed new law.]

SCRIPT:

Do you know what they said in California? This is what they said and I heard it on C-SPAN.

"We propose that we kick all of the illegal aliens out of this country. Then, we build a super fence so they can't get back in."

Then I went [RAISING HIS HAND, SMIRKING], "Um, who's going to build it?"

If the wetbacks are gone, there goes the workforce.

What we should do is build a fence first, and then kick 'em out.

They're already near the border, so when they're finished, just go [MOTIONING AS THOUGH PUSHING ANOTHER

PERSON], "Ah, this side looks perfect!" [PUSHING PERSON TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE BORDER]

"How does the other side look?"

"I don't know, let me go check."

And when they cross, *poof*, "Close the doors!"

[EXAGGERATED MEXICAN ACCENT] "Awww, they trick us, they trick us!"

"But, aye, it looks good on this side, too, it looks good on this side too."

[END OF SEGMENT]

Please answer the following questions about the segment that you just read:

1.) Is this segment enjoyable? Yes Maybe No

2.) It is original? Yes Maybe No

3.) Is it offensive? Yes Maybe No

4.) How funny were the jokes presented by the comedian you just read?

Not at all funny 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely funny

5.) How witty were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all witty 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely witty

6.) How creative were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all creative 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely creative

7.) How offensive were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all offensive 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely offensive

8.) To what extent did the jokes presented depict ethnic groups in a stereotyped manner?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

9.) To what extent did the jokes presented (implicitly or explicitly) depict ethnic groups in a demeaning or negative way?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

10.) What are the reasons why this segment should be included in the script?

_____

_____

11.) What are the reasons why this segment should be removed from the script?

_____

_____

SEGMENT C

SCRIPT:

Don't you get it? America has the best of every country, every world. It's all, everyone is already here.

Do you ever hear about aliens going to any other country?

All the best come here. They're here.

I can't even believe some people are like, "Man, I hope we can win some wars."

Didn't you realize that, one day we were going to Afghanistan, and then the next day, *poof*, we were already there?

How did that happen? How did it happen?

They didn't even let us cross their borders, but that's because we have people in this country, who know how to cross borders illegally. That's us! We got the best! We're awesome!

Even the Taliban was like, "Where in the hell did they go?"

We were bad ass! They turned around and all their tanks were on blocks.

"Where are my tires? Where did my tires go? Call the general of the radio… They took the freakin' radio?!" [IMITATING MIDDLE EASTERN ACCENTED ENGLISH]

We have people here who know what to do and how to do things in the military!

A tank is meant to drive and shoot with a terd that shoots at 360 degrees. You know what that is? It's a drive-by! We got Ray-Ray in there, like, "Hell yeah, *pop, pop, pop, pop*!"

Pop, pop, pop! USA, brotha, USA! [IMITATING AFRICAN AMERICAN ACCENT]

We're crazy! We have crazy White people that will… oh my god.

We got a beaner that will stab you. We got a Black guy that will shoot you. We got a crazy White guy that will eat you.

That's our army, ladies and gentlemen.

"Ho, ho, you ain't talkin' now, are ya, boy?" [LEANING DOWN, MAKING EATING MOTION WITH HANDS, IMITATINGSOUTHERN RURAL ACCENT]

And we got the Asians in reserve.

Settle down, crouching tiger, you're next! You're next!

[END OF SEGMENT]

Please answer the following questions about the segment that you just read:

1.) Is this segment enjoyable? Yes Maybe No

2.) It is original? Yes Maybe No

3.) Is it offensive? Yes Maybe No

4.) How funny were the jokes presented by the comedian you just read?

Not at all funny 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely funny

5.) How witty were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all witty 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely witty

6.) How creative were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all creative 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely creative

7.) How offensive were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all offensive 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely offensive

8.) To what extent did the jokes presented depict ethnic groups in a stereotyped manner?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

9.) To what extent did the jokes presented (implicitly or explicitly) depict ethnic groups in a demeaning or negative way?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

10.) What are the reasons why this segment should be included in the script?

_____

_____

11.) What are the reasons why this segment should be removed from the script?

_____

_____

Thank you for sharing your thoughts about each of the comedy segments. Next, please answer some questions about your overall impressions about this comedian.

About the Comedian

1.) How likeable did you find the comedian?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

2.) This comedian is interesting.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

3.) This comedian is funny.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

4.) This comedian is offensive.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

5.) What are any other details about the comedian that you remember?

_____

_____

Thank you for sharing your thoughts about this comedian. Next, please answer some questions about your overall impressions about this potential show material in general.

About the Show

1.) How much did you enjoy the comedic material?

Did not enjoy at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Enjoyed very much

2.) How much would you like to see the entire comedic material?

Definitely would not 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Definitely would like to see

3.) How much did you enjoy the subject matter of the comedic material?

Did not enjoy at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Enjoyed very much

4.) How good was the comedic material?

Not at all good 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely good

5.) How exciting was the comedic material?

Not at all exciting 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely exciting

6.) How much did you like the acting in the comedic material?

Did not like at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Liked very much

7.) What are your thoughts about the scripts?

_____

_____

8.) What are the reasons this show would be successful?

_____

_____

9.) What are the reasons this show would be unsuccessful?

_____

_____

10.) Which segments did you find most funny?

_____

_____

11.) Which segments did you remember?

_____

_____

12.) In the space below, please write at least one sentence regarding your reaction(s) to what you have just completed. Feel free to write anything you wish.

_____

_____

_____

_____

Part 3: Demographic Information

This is the final section of this survey. Please provide your following demographic information. All information you enter is anonymous and confidential.

1.) What is your age?

_____

2.) What is your ethnicity?

1.) African-American
2.) Asian-Pacific Islander
3.) White
4.) Hispanic/Latino
5.) Native American
6.) Mixed – Please specify _____
7.) Other – Please specify _____

3.) What is your gender?

1.) Female
2.) Male

4.) Level of Education:

1.) Some College
2.) College Graduate
3.) Associate's Degree
4.) Graduate School
5.) Graduate/Professional Degree

5.) What is your classification in your higher education at this point:

1.) Freshman
2.) Sophomore
3.) Junior
4.) Senior
5.) Post-Graduate or Graduate Student

Personality and Identity

In the following section, the questions pertain to your personality and identity. Please give these questions some thought and circle the number on the scale you feel most accurately expresses these specific questions about you.

1.) How masculine would you consider yourself to be?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

2.) How closely knit are you with others of your race or ethnicity?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

3.) How much would you say others view you as organized and efficient?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

4.) How sympathetic do you consider yourself to be?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

5.) How laid back would you consider yourself to be?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

6.) How strong a sense of belonging do you have with your race or ethnicity?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

7.) How considerate of others would you consider yourself to be?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

8.) How feminine would you consider yourself to be?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

9.) How much do you identify with other members of your race or ethnicity?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

10.) How intellectual do you consider yourself to be?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

11.) How similar do you feel to your race or ethnicity as a whole in terms of general attitudes and beliefs?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

12.) How often would you say you have feelings of frustration and anxiety?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely often

13.) How extroverted (outgoing) would you describe yourself as?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

14.) How funny do you consider yourself to be?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

15.) How included do you feel by others of your race or ethnicity?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

16.) How introverted (shy) would you describe yourself as?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

17.) How creative do you consider yourself to be?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

18.) How strong are your ties to other members of your race or ethnicity?

Not strong 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely strong

19.) How energetic do you consider yourself to be?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

20.) How moody do you consider yourself to be?
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

21.) How important is your racial identification to your self-concept?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very important

Please provide any feedback regarding this survey. Any comments you might have about the content or the process are welcome at this time.

_____

_____

_____

_____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR INSIGHTS!

Thank you for taking the time to participate in the current survey research. Your insights are important and valuable. Have a wonderful day!

APPENDIX E

FINAL EXPERIMENTAL QUESTIONNAIRE

ENJOYMENT OF COMEDY DC LC[18]

WELCOME TO THE ENJOYMENT OF COMEDY SURVEY!

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this survey research project.

Please feel free to express your honest opinions in the survey. There are no right or wrong answers. Your information will remain anonymous. Your responses will not be linked to your identity in any way. Please DO NOT write your name or any other identifying information on this form.

Please do not talk to anyone during the session. Make sure your cell phone is off.

You will be completing four (4) main sections in the survey:

Part 1: Media Use
Part 2: Comedy Script Impression Form
Part 3: Judicial Review Evaluation Form
Part 4: Demographic Information

DC LC

[18] DC stands for Data Collection and LC stands for Latino/White. These acronyms were used to distinguish easily between the four survey versions when sorting the completed hard copy surveys based on self-reported racial identification before data entry. The other three survey packets were labeled accordingly: CL = White/Latino, LL = Latino/Latino, and CC = White/White.

Part 1: Media Use

In the following section, please complete the questions about your typical media habits. Please be as detailed as possible.

1.) How many TV sets do you have in your home?

a) 1
b) 2
c) 3
d) 4 or more

2.) How many TV sets do you have in your home with cable connected to them?

a) 1
b) 2
c) 3
d) 4 or more

3.) How many hours of TV do you watch on a typical weekday (Monday – Friday)?

_____

4.) How many hours of TV do you watch on a typical weekend (Saturday or Sunday)?

_____

5.) Please list the five TV programs you try not to miss each week:

1.) _____

2.) _____

3.) _____

4.) _____

5.) _____

6.) What types of programming do you watch most often? Check all that apply and indicate your level of enjoyment for each in the scale provided.

	Enjoy very much	Enjoy	Neutral	Don't Enjoy	Don't enjoy at all
a) News & current affairs	1	2	3	4	5
b) Movies/mini-series	1	2	3	4	5
c) Children's programming	1	2	3	4	5
d) Drama	1	2	3	4	5
e) Soap operas	1	2	3	4	5
f) Sports	1	2	3	4	5
g) Comedy	1	2	3	4	5
h) Music	1	2	3	4	5
i) Reality shows	1	2	3	4	5
j) Elimination Games	1	2	3	4	5
k) Game Shows	1	2	3	4	5
l) Talk Shows	1	2	3	4	5
m) Other _____	1	2	3	4	5

7.) What other types of media do you use regularly? Please indicate how much you use each on a typical day, week, or month as applicable. Refer to the left column next to each answer box.

a) Internet - per day _____
b) Magazines – per month _____
c) Newspapers – per month _____
c) Radio - per week _____
d) Other (please specify) _____

Part 2: Comedy Script Impression Form

In the next section, you will be reading three (3) comedy segments from a script by a comedian. A brief biographical sketch of the comedian is provided.

Your honest opinions about enjoyment and funniness of each segment are greatly appreciated.

Biographical sketch – JUAN RODRIGUEZ

Juan Rodriguez is considered a talented, somewhat controversial up and coming comedic performer who often showcases many characters interacting simultaneously. The comedian frequently depicts himself placed in a variety of social scenes that invoke current events and social hot topics, often times with little regard for being "p.c." (aka politically correct).

The impressively versatile Juan Rodriguez has shown an increased following, as he often performs improv, and his considerable talents are gaining him widespread recognition and success across the nation.

There's a good range of characters here, some recurring, some not. For example, Rodriguez commonly acts out both sides of a duologue and such interactive scenarios go off without a hitch, though only one voice is heard. He easily morphs into a dyad of conversation on a whim.

SEGMENT A

SCRIPT:

Well, speaking of those kinds of things, ethnic hierarchies, [LAUGHS AND TURNS AWAY FROM CAMERA]
I saw something the other day I thought was unbelievable. I don't know if you all know this, but they opened up, in Burbank, California, a little center for the wetbacks to hang out in front of the Home Depot, across the street.
Yes! So they don't have to stand in the rain, it's got a little kitchen, and an office. The wetbacks are spoiled right there.
--- DUOLOGUE BEGINS ---
[IMITATING MEXICAN ACCENT WITH POOR ENGLISH]
Hey, why don't you go outside?
[IMITATING MEXICAN ACCENTED ENGLISH, MAKING HAND GESTURE UPWARDS, MOTIONING TO INDOOR OFFICE, MAKING A SMUG LOOK]
I don't have to, I'm inside the office.
They got a little drive through. You show up, and they're like, "What do you need?"
[IMITATING SOUTHERN RURAL ACCENT] "Um, uh, I need three people to do my roofing…"
[IMITATING MEXICAN ACCENT] "No problem!"
"We need three Mexicans, let's go, get in the car!"
[WALKING WITH A SMUG STRUT]
[IMITATING MEXICAN ACCENT]
"Welcome to Juan in the Box, can I get your order, please?"
"I need two guys to do tile." [SOUTHERN RURAL ACCENT]
"Two Mexicans, get in the car, let's go!" [MEXICAN ACCENT]
"Welcome to Raul's, can I take your order please?"
"Yeah, I need somebody to clean my port-a-potty." [SOUTHERN RURAL ACCENT]
"Uh, send the guy from El Salvador! Yeah, c'mon, let's go."

--- DUOLOGUE ENDS ---

[GASPS, PUTS HAND OVER HIS MOUTH]

The White people are like, “What? Oh my god.”

And the Mexicans are like, “Yeah! We no gonna do that, we no gonna do that, El Salvador! Nicaragua, go, go, go!” [MEXICAN ACCENT]

Because there are hierarchies. There’s not just beaners, there are levels, like White people.

There’s White people, [MOTIONING TO AUDIENCE] then there’s what?

Der-dicka-der-dicka-der-der-der… [HITS HEAD WITH MICROPHONE, COCKS HEAD TO THE SIDE, MAKING CROSS EYES AS THOUGH MENTALLY RETARDED]

Just a different White person!

Asians, nobody knows more than you. If you’re Chinese, you’re on top. If you’re Vietnamese, you’re pretty much the n***** of that community. [SHRUGS SHOULDERS]

Oh, and the Chinese people are going, [IMITATING CHINESE ACCENT WITH POOR ENGLISH] “Oh, how does he know dis?”

And if you’re a Filipino, then you’re the beaner of the Asian community. [NODDING HIS HEAD, POINTING AT AUDIENCE]

Because you’re indigenous people that got banged by some Spaniards. That’s why you have names like Kuang Ping Del Toro.

What the… What?!

What do you mean Kuang Ping Del Toro? How does that work out?

[END OF SEGMENT]

Please answer the following questions about the segment that you just read:

1.) Is this segment enjoyable?	Yes	Maybe	No
2.) It is original?	Yes	Maybe	No
3.) Is it offensive?	Yes	Maybe	No

4.) How funny were the jokes presented by the comedian you just read?

Not at all funny 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely funny

5.) How witty were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all witty 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely witty

6.) How creative were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all creative 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely creative

7.) How offensive were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all offensive 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely offensive

8.) To what extent did the jokes presented depict ethnic groups in a stereotyped manner?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

9.) To what extent did the jokes presented (implicitly or explicitly) depict ethnic groups in a demeaning or negative way?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

10.) What are the reasons why this segment should be included in the script?

_____

_____

11.) What are the reasons why this segment should be removed from the script?

_____

_____

SEGMENT B

SCRIPT:

Don't you get it? America has the best of every country. It's all, everyone is already here.

Do you ever hear about aliens going to any other country? [LAUGHS]

All the best come here. They're here.

I can't even believe some people are like, "Man, I hope we can win some wars."

Didn't you realize that, one day we were going to Afghanistan, and then the next day, *poof*, we were already there?

How did that happen? How did it happen?

They didn't even let us cross their borders, but that's because we have people in this country who know how to cross borders illegally. That's us! We got the best! We're awesome!

Even the Taliban was like, "Where in the hell did they go?" [IMITATING MIDDLE EASTERN ACCENT]

We were bad ass! They turned around and all their tanks were on blocks.

"Where are my tires? Where did my tires go? Call the general of the radio… They took the freakin' radio?!" [IMITATING MIDDLE EASTERN-ACCENTED ENGLISH]

We have people here who know what to do and how to do things in the military!

A tank is meant to drive and shoot at 360 degrees. You know what that is? It's a drive-by! We got Ray-Ray in there, like, "Hell yeah, *pop, pop, pop, pop*!"

Pop, pop, pop! USA, brotha, USA! [IMITATING AFRICAN AMERICAN ACCENT]

We're crazy! We have crazy White people that will… oh my God.

We got a beaner that will stab you. We got a Black guy that will shoot you. We got a crazy White guy that will eat you.

That's our army, ladies and gentlemen.

"Ho, ho, you ain't talkin' now, are ya, boy?" [LEANING DOWN, MAKING EATING MOTION WITH HANDS, IMITATING SOUTHERN RURAL ACCENT]

And we got the Asians in reserve.

Settle down, crouching tiger, you're next! You're next!

[END OF SEGMENT]

Please answer the following questions about the segment that you just read:

1.) Is this segment enjoyable? Yes Maybe No

2.) It is original? Yes Maybe No

3.) Is it offensive? Yes Maybe No

4.) How funny were the jokes presented by the comedian you just read?

Not at all funny 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely funny

5.) How witty were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all witty 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely witty

6.) How creative were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all creative 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely creative

7.) How offensive were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all offensive 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely offensive

8.) To what extent did the jokes presented depict ethnic groups in a stereotyped manner?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

9.) To what extent did the jokes presented (implicitly or explicitly) depict ethnic groups in a demeaning or negative way?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

10.) What are the reasons why this segment should be included in the script?

_____

_____

11.) What are the reasons why this segment should be removed from the script?

_____

_____

SEGMENT C

SCENARIO: [The comedian begins talking about a story he heard on the news just the other day about a law that was proposed in California. After discussing the implications of the law, he goes on a rant about his personal opinion concerning the absurdity of the new law.]

SCRIPT:

Do you know what they said in California? This is what they said and I heard it on C-SPAN.

[IMITATING SOUTHERN RURAL ACCENT]

"We propose that we kick all of the illegal aliens out of this country. Then, we build a super fence so they can't get back in."

Then I went [RAISING HIS HAND, SMIRKING], "Um, who's going to build it?"

If the wetbacks are gone, there goes the workforce.

What we should do is build a fence first, and then kick 'em out.

They're already near the border, so when they're finished, just go [MOTIONING AS THOUGH PUSHING ANOTHER PERSON], "Ah, this side looks perfect!" [PUSHING PERSON TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE BORDER]

"How does the other side look?"

"I don't know, let me go check."

And when they cross, *poof*, "Close the doors!"

[EXAGGERATED MEXICAN ACCENT] "Awww, they trick us, they trick us!"

"But, aye, it looks good on this side, too, it looks good on this side too."

[END OF SEGMENT]

Please answer the following questions about the segment that you just read:

1.) Is this segment enjoyable?	Yes	Maybe	No
2.) It is original?	Yes	Maybe	No
3.) Is it offensive?	Yes	Maybe	No

4.) How funny were the jokes presented by the comedian you just read?

Not at all funny 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely funny

5.) How witty were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all witty 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely witty

6.) How creative were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all creative 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely creative

7.) How offensive were the jokes presented in the comedy script?

Not at all offensive 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely offensive

8.) To what extent did the jokes presented depict ethnic groups in a stereotyped manner?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

9.) To what extent did the jokes presented (implicitly or explicitly) depict ethnic groups in a demeaning or negative way?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

10.) What are the reasons why this segment should be included in the script?

_____

_____

11.) What are the reasons why this segment should be removed from the script?

_____

_____

Thank you for sharing your thoughts about each of the comedy segments. Next, please answer some questions about your overall impressions about this comedian.

About the Comedian

1.) How likeable did you find the comedian?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

2.) This comedian is interesting.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

3.) This comedian is funny.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

4.) This comedian is offensive.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

5.) Do you recall the name of the comedian? If so, please write it below.

_____

6.) Do you recall the gender of the comedian? If so, please write it below.

_____

7.) Do you recall the race/ethnicity of the comedian? If so, please write it below.

_____

8.) Are any other details about the comedian that you remember?

_____

_____

Thank you for sharing your thoughts about this comedian. Next, please answer some questions about your overall impressions about this potential show material in general.

About the Show

1.) How much did you enjoy the comedic material?

Did not enjoy at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Enjoyed very much

2.) How much would you like to see the entire comedic material?

Definitely would not 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Definitely would like to see

3.) How much did you enjoy the subject matter of the comedic material?

Did not enjoy at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Enjoyed very much

4.) How good was the comedic material?

Not at all good 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely good

5.) How exciting was the comedic material?

Not at all exciting 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely exciting

6.) How much did you like the acting in the comedic material?

Did not like at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Liked very much

7.) What are the reasons this show would be successful?

_____

_____

8.) What are the reasons this show would be unsuccessful?

_____

_____

9.) Which segments did you find most funny?

_____

_____

10.) In the space below, please write at least one sentence regarding your reaction(s) to what you have just completed. Feel free to write anything you wish.

_____

_____

_____

_____

Part 3: Judicial Review Evaluation Form

In the following section, you will read two official grievance cases filed to the student judicial review board of another school. A brief description of the student against whom the complaint has been filed is provided for your information. Following this description, some factual details about the case are provided for your review. Please answer the questions that follow after reading each case carefully.

Judicial Review Case One

Background about Charlie Smith:

Charlie Smith is an 18-year-old senior at John F. Kennedy High School. Charlie is a student athlete on the varsity basketball team. On the weekends Charlie likes to go to the movies with his friends. His favorite kinds of movies are comedy and action/adventure. Charlie also enjoys playing video games and listening to music during his free time away from school. Charlie is applying to go to college next year, and hopes to gain admittance to a large state university near
his home. The university has high standards of scholastic achievement and an academically rigorous curriculum, so in order to be accepted based on academic merit, Charlie will have to work hard to make good grades during his senior year, and he will have to score high on the college entrance exams (the SAT and the ACT). It is also possible that Charlie can gain admittance by earning a basketball scholarship, independent of his grades and test scores. Whether Charlie gets the scholarship or not depends on how well he plays basketball compared to other seniors competing for the scholarship during the upcoming season.

Details about the case against Charlie Smith:

Several residents living in an apartment complex in a large Midwestern city filed a complaint against a fellow resident. They believe that the resident, a man in his early twenties named Charlie Smith, is involved in selling drugs. None of the complaining residents had ever been approached by Smith in an attempt to get them to purchase drugs, but they claim it well known in their community that Smith is a retail source of cocaine and marijuana. They further claim that “undesirable kinds of people” often visit Smith’s apartment for brief periods of time, presumably to conduct illegal transactions. The complaining residents reported stories that they had heard from other people about purchasing drugs from Smith. In addition, the maintenance supervisor reported that, while fixing a broken cabinet in Smith’s apartment, he saw two cell phones on the couch. He did not notice evidence of other drug-related paraphernalia at the time, however. Without more concrete evidence, it was impossible for the local police to take any immediate action but the residents feel there is enough evidence to warrant further investigation.

1.) How strong is the case against Charlie Smith?

Extremely weak 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely strong

2.) In your personal opinion, how likely is it that Charlie Smith is involved in selling drugs?

Extremely unlikely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely likely

3.) In your opinion, to what extent have the residents acted fairly or unfairly in their suspicion of Charlie Smith?

Extremely unfair 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely fair

4.) How well do you think the student you just read about will do, academically, in college?

Very poorly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very well

5.) How likely is it that the student you just read about will gain admittance to college based on an athletic scholarship to play basketball?

Very unlikely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very likely

1.) Do you remember the name of the student you just read about?

____ No

____Yes

(If yes, provide name: _____)

2.) List two extracurricular activities he enjoys.

3.) The student you just read about is approximately _____ years old.

4.) What is the gender of the student you just read about?

5.) What is the ethnicity of the student that you just read about?

Judicial Review Case One

Matthew, a freshman at a large urban university, has been accused of assaulting his roommate, Mark, also a freshman. The two students had reportedly had many disagreements during their first few weeks as roommates, and other dorm residents have witnessed shouting matches between the two. A particular source of disagreement was Matthew's tendency to play music that Mark found unpleasant.

On the day of the assault, they had another verbal confrontation about one of Matthew's favorite CD's. Mark said the CD was "nothing but noise." Matthew, according to a witness who lives across the hall, became very boisterous and upset, disagreeing vigorously.

Mark reports that he went to study at the library with his friends. Afterwards, he headed straight back to his dorm room. By this time it was after 10 p.m. While approaching his dormitory, Mark was jumped from behind and beaten up. He was taken to the emergency room, but his injuries, although painful, turned out not to be serious or permanent.

There were no witnesses to the attack, and Mark never actually saw the person who beat him. However, he was absolutely sure it was Matthew. Mark claims Matthew was angry with him because of their frequent disagreements.

Matthew, on the other hand, flatly denied having anything to do with the attack. Matthew claims that he was studying at the library alone at the time of the attack. Mark is so sure that Matthew was the attacker that he has filed an official grievance with the student judiciary board.

1.) How strong is the case against Matthew?

Extremely weak 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely strong

2.) In your personal opinion, how likely is it that Matthew was the attacker?

Extremely unlikely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely likely

3.) In your personal opinion, how likely is it that Mark's accusation was unfairly influenced by his opinion of Matthew?

Extremely unlikely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely likely

Part 4: Demographic Information

This is the final section of this survey. Please provide your following demographic information. All information you enter is anonymous and confidential.

1.) What is your age?

_____

2.) What is your ethnicity?

1.) African-American
2.) Asian-Pacific Islander
3.) White
4.) Hispanic/Latino
5.) Native American
6.) Mixed – Please specify _____
7.) Other – Please specify _____

3.) What is your gender?

1.) Female
2.) Male

4.) Level of Education:

1.) Some College
2.) College Graduate
3.) Associate's Degree
4.) Graduate School
5.) Graduate/Professional Degree

5.) What is your classification in your higher education at this point:

1.) Freshman
2.) Sophomore
3.) Junior
4.) Senior
5.) Post-Graduate or Graduate Student

Personality and Identity

In the following section, the questions pertain to your personality and identity. Please give these questions some thought and circle the number on the scale you feel most accurately expresses these specific questions about you.

1.) How masculine would you consider yourself to be?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

2.) How closely knit are you with others of your race or ethnicity?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

3.) How much would you say others view you as organized and efficient?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

4.) How sympathetic do you consider yourself to be?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

5.) How laid back would you consider yourself to be?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

6.) How strong a sense of belonging do you have with your race or ethnicity?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

7.) How considerate of others would you consider yourself to be?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

8.) How feminine would you consider yourself to be?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

9.) How much do you identify with other members of your race or ethnicity?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

10.) How intellectual do you consider yourself to be?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

11.) How similar do you feel to your race or ethnicity as a whole in terms of general attitudes and beliefs?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

12.) How often would you say you have feelings of frustration and anxiety?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely often

13.) How extroverted (outgoing) would you describe yourself as?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

14.) How funny do you consider yourself to be?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

15.) How included do you feel by others of your race or ethnicity?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

16.) How introverted (shy) would you describe yourself as?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

17.) How creative do you consider yourself to be?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

18.) How strong are your ties to other members of your race or ethnicity?

Not strong 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely strong

19.) How energetic do you consider yourself to be?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

20.) How important is your racial identification to your self-concept?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very important

Please provide any feedback regarding this survey. Any comments you might have about the content or the process are welcome at this time.

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Thank you for taking the time to participate in the current survey research. Your insights are important and valuable. Have a wonderful day!

VITA

Amanda Rae Martinez received her Bachelor of Arts degree in Multinational Organization Studies with a concentration in Spanish and a minor in English Communication Arts in 2004. She entered the Mass Communication program at the University of Houston – Main Campus in August 2004 and received her Master of Arts degree with a Women's Studies Graduate Certificate in May 2007. She began her doctoral studies in August 2007, defended her dissertation in July 2011, and graduated from Texas A&M University with her Ph.D. in December 2011. Her research interests include media effects related to race, ethnicity, gender, and culture, and health issues such as mental illness, depression, body image identity and eating disorders among minority groups.

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